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THE

# HISTORY

OF THE

# REBELLION AND CIVIL WARS,

BY

EDWARD EARL OF CLARENDON.

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IN

# ENGLAND,

BY

## EDWARD EARL OF CLARENDON.

A NEW EDITION,

FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT.

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THE

# HISTORY

OF THE

# REBELLION, &c.

## BOOK VIII. CONTINUED.

THE king's army was less united than ever; the old general was set aside, and prince Rupert put into the command, which was no popular change: for the other was known to be an officer of great experience, and had committed no oversights in his conduct; was willing to hear every thing debated, and always concurred with the most reasonable opinion; and though he was not of many words, and was not quick in hearing, yet upon any action he was sprightly, and commanded well. The prince was rough, and passionate, and loved not debate; liked what was proposed, as he liked the persons who proposed it; and was so great an enemy to Digby and Colepepper, who were only present in debates of the war with the officers, that he crossed all they proposed. The truth is, all the army had been disposed, from the first raising it, to a neglect and contempt of the council; and the king himself had not been

solicitous enough to preserve the respect due to it; in which he lost of his own dignity.

Goring, who was now general of the horse, was no more gracious to prince Rupert, than Wilmot had been; and had all the other's faults, and wanted his regularity, and preserving his respect with the officers. Wilmot loved debauchery, but shut it out from his business; never neglected that, and rarely miscarried in it. Goring had a much better understanding, and a sharper wit, (except in the very exercise of debauchery, and then the other was inspired,) a much keener courage, and presentness of mind in danger: Wilmot discerned it farther off, and because he could not behave himself so well in it, commonly prevented, or warily declined it; and never drank when he was within distance of an enemy: Goring was not able to resist the temptation, when he was in the middle of them, nor would decline it to obtain a victory; and, in one of those fits, he had suffered the horse to escape out of Cornwall; and the most signal misfortunes of his life in war had their rise from that uncontrollable license. Neither of them valued their promises, professions, or friendships, according to any rules of honour or integrity; but Wilmot violated them the less willingly, and never but for some great benefit or convenience to himself; Goring without scruple, out of humour, or for wit's sake; and loved no man so well, but that he would cozen him, and then expose him to public mirth for having been cozened: therefore he had always fewer friends than the other, but more company; for no man had a wit that pleased the company better. The ambition of both was

unlimited, and so equally incapable of being contented; and both unrestrained, by any respect to good-nature or justice, from pursuing the satisfaction thereof: yet Wilmot had more scruples from religion to startle him, and would not have attained his end by any gross or foul act of wickedness: Goring could have passed through those pleasantly, and would, without hesitation, have broken any trust, or done any act of treachery, to have satisfied an ordinary passion or appetite; and, in truth, wanted nothing but industry (for he had wit, and courage, and understanding, and ambition, uncontrolled by any fear of God or man) to have been as eminent and successful in the highest attempt in wickedness of any man in the age he lived in, or before. Of all his qualifications, dissimulation was his masterpiece; in which he so much excelled, that men were not ordinarily ashamed, or out of countenance, with being deceived but twice by him.

The court was not much better disposed than the army; they who had no preferment were angry with those who had, and thought they had not deserved so well as themselves: they who were envied, found no satisfaction or delight in what they were envied for, being poor and necessitous, and the more sensible of their being so, by the titles they had received upon their violent importunity. So that the king was without any joy in the favours he had conferred, and yet was not the less solicited to grant more to others of the same kind, who, he foresaw, would be no better pleased than the rest: and the pleasing one man this way, displeased one hundred; as his creating the lord

Colepepper at this time, and making him a baron, (who, in truth, had served him with great abilities; and, though he did imprudently in desiring it, did deserve it,) did much dissatisfy both the court and the army; to neither of which he was in any degree gracious, by his having no ornament of education, to make men the more propitious to his parts of nature; and disposed many others to be very importunate to receive the same obligation.

There had been another counsel entered upon, and concluded with great deliberation and wisdom, which turned at this time to his majesty's disadvantage; which was the cessation in Ireland; entered into, as hath been said before, with all the reason imaginable, and in hope to have made a good peace there, and so to have had the power of that united kingdom, to have assisted to the suppressing the rebellion in this. But now, as all the supplies he had received from thence upon the cessation had been already destroyed, without any benefit to the king, so his majesty found, that he hould not be able to make a peace there; and then the government there would be in the worse condition, by being deprived of so many good officers and soldiers upon the conclusion of the cessation. There had been commissioners from that time sent over to the king from the confederate catholics, to treat a peace; the lord lieutenant and council had sent likewise commissioners to inform the king of all things necessary to be considered in the treaty; and the parliament which was then sitting in Ireland had sent likewise commissioners, in the name of the protestants in that kingdom, to prevent the making any peace; and with a

petition to dissolve the cessation that had been made.

The commissioners from the confederate catholics demanded " the abrogation and repeal of all those " laws, which were in force against the exercise of " the Roman religion: that the lieutenant, or chief " governor, should be a Roman catholic; and that " there should be no distinction made, whereby " those of that religion should not be capable of " any preferment in the kingdom, as well as the " protestants;" together with the repeal of several laws, which that nation thought to have been made in their prejudice.

The commissioners from the state (whereof some were of the privy-council) professed, " that they " desired a peace might be made;" but proposed, in order, as they said, to the security of the kingdom, " that all the Irish might be disarmed; and such " among them as had been most signal and bar- " barous in the massacres in the beginning of " the rebellion, might be excepted from pardon, " and prosecuted with the utmost rigour of law: " that the laws might be put in execution against " all Roman catholics, and especially against all " Jesuits, priests, and friars; and that they might " be obliged to pay all the damages which had " been sustained by the war."

The commissioners from the protestants demanded, " that the cessation might be dissolved, " and the war carried on with the utmost rigour, " according to the act of parliament that had been " made in the beginning of the rebellion, and " that no peace might be made on any conditions."

The king demanded of the Irish, " whether they

" believed it could be in his power, if it were " agreeable to his conscience, to grant them their " demands? and whether he must not thereby " purchase Ireland with the loss of England and " Scotland?" There were among them some sober men, who confessed, " that, as his majesty's affairs " then stood, they believed he could not grant it; " and they hoped, that their general assembly " would, when they should be informed of the " truth of his majesty's condition, which was not " known to them, be persuaded to depart from " some of their demands; but that, for the present, " they had not authority to recede from any one " proposition."

The king then asked the commissioners who had been sent over by the marquis of Ormond, lieutenant of the kingdom, " which forces they " thought to be the stronger, the king's army, or " that of the rebels?" They confessed " the " rebels to be much superior in power, and that " they were possessed of more than three parts of " the kingdom." The king then asked them, " whether they thought it probable, now they " found themselves to be the stronger, that they " would be persuaded to yield to so disadvantageous " terms, as they proposed, and to be so wholly at " the mercy of those whom they had so much pro- " voked? and if they could be so disposed, whether " they believed that they were able, though they " should be willing, to sell all they have in Ireland, " to pay the damages, which had been sustained " by the war?" The commissioners acknowledged, " that they thought the last impossible, and that " there might be a mitigation in that particular;

" but for the former, they durst not advise his " majesty to recede at all; for that there could be " no other security for the protestants in that " kingdom, but by leaving the Irish without any " capacity or ability to trouble them: for their " perfidiousness was such, that they could not be " trusted; and therefore they must either be put " into such a condition, by being totally disarmed, " that they should not be able to do any mischief; " or that all the protestants must leave the king- " dom to the entire possession of the Irish; and " whether that would be for his majesty's service " and security, they must refer to his own wis- " dom."

The king then sent for the commissioners from the parliament, on the behalf of the protestants, and asked them, " whether they were ready, if the ces- " sation were expired, to renew the war, and to " prosecute it hopefully, to the reduction or sup- " pression of the Irish?" They answered very clearly, " that, in the state they were in, they " could not carry on the war, or defend themselves " against the Irish, who were much superior to " them in power; but if his majesty would recruit " his army, and send over money, and arms, and " ammunition, with shipping, they made no doubt, " but, with God's blessing, they should be able " shortly to reduce them, and drive them out of " the kingdom." The king then asked them, " whether they did in truth think, that his majesty " was able to send them such supplies as they stood " in need of? or whether they did not, in their " consciences, know, that he was not able to send " them any part of it, and stood in want of all for

" his own support?" They answered, " that they " hoped he would make a peace with the parlia- " ment, and would then be able to send over such " assistance to Ireland, as would quickly settle " that kingdom."

But, after all these discourses, his majesty prevailed not with any of them to depart from the most unreasonable of all their demands; whereupon he dismissed them, and told the Irish, " it had been " in their power so far to have obliged him, that " he might hereafter have thought himself bound " to have gratified them in some particulars, which " were not now seasonable to have been done; but " they would repent this their senseless perverse- " ness, when it would be too late, and when they " found themselves under a power that would de- " stroy them, and make them cease to be a nation."

And so they all left Oxford; and his majesty, notwithstanding all this resolution not to depart from any thing that might in any degree be prejudicial to the protestant interest in that kingdom, found that he suffered under no reproach more in England, than by having made that cessation: so wonderfully unreasonable was the nation then, under the absurd imputation of his majesty's favouring the Irish.

The straits in which the king now was, brought him to some reflections which he had never made before; and the considerations of what might probably be the event of the next summer, disposed him to inclinations which were very contrary to what he had ever before entertained. His three younger children were taken from the governess in whose hands he had put them, and were not only

in the parliament quarters, but expressly by their order put into the custody of one in whom the king could have the less confidence, because it was one in whom the parliament confided so much. He had with him the prince and the duke of York, both young; and he had no resolution more fixed in him, than that the prince should never be absent from him; which, as hath been touched before, made him less consider what governor or servants he put about him; resolving to form his manners by his own model. But now he began to say, "that himself and the prince were too much to "venture in one bottom; and that it was now time "to unboy him, by putting him into some action "and acquaintance with business, out of his own "sight:" but communicated these thoughts only with the lord Digby, the lord Colepepper, and the chancellor of the exchequer; and was thought to confer more with the lord Colepepper upon the subject, than with either of the other; but had some particular thoughts upon which he conferred with nobody. There was but one province in which the prince could reside, after he was severed from the king; and that was the west; which was yet in a worse condition than it had been, by the rebels being possessed of Taunton, the chief town in Somersetshire; and though it was an open and unfortified place, it was very strong against the king in the natural disaffection of the inhabitants, which were very numerous, and all the places adjacent of the same ill principles; and Waller had already sent some troops thither to confirm them in their rebellious inclinations, and had himself a resolution speedily to go thither, with a body sufficient to

form an army for the reduction of the west: nor was the design improbable to succeed; for the reputation of the Scotch army, upon the recovery of all the north, had shaken and terrified all the kingdom; and the king's army was the last enemy the west had been acquainted with, and had left no good name behind it.

To prevent this mischief, Goring (who had now made a fast friendship with the lord Digby, either of them believing he could deceive the other, and so with equal passion embracing the engagement) was sent with some troops to Salisbury, from whence he might easily prevent any motion of Waller; without which, Taunton would be in a short time reduced by the garrisons the king had in the country; so that this alteration rather confirmed than diverted his majesty, in his thoughts of sending the prince thither: so that he began to publish his purpose, and named counsellors to be with his highness, by whose advice all things should be done; his majesty's purpose being, in truth, only at that time that the prince should go no farther west than Bristol; and that there might no jealousies arise from this action, (which every body knew was so far from the king's former purpose; and it might be imagined, that his highness would be sent to the queen his mother into France, which many unreasonably apprehended,) the king declared what council he intended should be about his son; the reputation of whom, he thought, would allay all jealousies of that kind. He named the duke of Richmond, the earl of Southampton, the lord Capel, the lord Hopton, the lord Colepepper, and the chancellor of the exchequer, and appointed them "to

" meet frequently at the prince's lodging, to con-
" sider with his highness what preparations should
" be made for his journey, and in what manner his
" family should be established." There was one person more, who of necessity was to wait on the person of the prince, which was the earl of Berkshire, his governor; and then his majesty found, what false measures he had taken in the conferring that province, and lamented his own error to those he trusted, but knew not how to prevent the inconveniences that might ensue, unless by applying two remedies, which were not natural, and might have been productive of as great inconveniences. The one was, to lessen the prince's reverence and esteem for his governor; which was very sufficiently provided for. The other, to leave the governor without any more authority, than every one of the council had; and so much less, as the prince had a better esteem of every one of them, than he had of him: and so left him without a governor, which would have been a little better, if he had been without the earl of Berkshire too.

When the king was in this melancholic posture, it was a great refreshment, and some advantage to him, to hear, that the disorder the parliament was in was superior to his. The cause of all the distractions in his court or army proceeded from the extreme poverty and necessity his majesty was in; and a very moderate supply of money would, in a moment, have extinguished all those distempers. But all the wealth of the kingdom, for they were possessed of all, could not prevent the same, and greater distractions and emulations, from breaking into the whole government of the parliament: and

all the personal animosities imaginable broke out in their councils, and in their armies; and the house of peers found themselves, upon the matter, excluded from all power or credit, when they did not concur in all the demands which were made by the commons.

That violent party, which had at first cozened the rest into the war, and afterwards obstructed all the approaches towards peace, found now that they had finished as much of their work, as the tools which they had wrought with could be applied to; and what remained to be done, must be despatched by new workmen. They had been long unsatisfied with the earl of Essex, and he as much with them; both being more solicitous to suppress the other, than to destroy the king. They bore the loss and dishonour he had sustained in Cornwall very well; and would have been glad, that both he and his army had been quite cut off, instead of being dissolved; for most of his officers and soldiers were corrupted in their affections towards them, and desired nothing but peace: so that they resolved never more to trust or employ any of them. But that which troubled them more, was, that their beloved earl of Manchester, upon whom they depended as a fast friend, by whom they might insensibly have divested the earl of Essex of all inconvenient authority in the army, appeared now as unapplicable to their purposes as the other; and there was a breach fallen out between him and Oliver Cromwell, which was irreconcilable, and which had brought some counsels upon the stage, before they were ripe.

Cromwell accused the earl of Manchester "of

" having betrayed the parliament out of cowardice;
" for that he might, at the king's last being at
" Newbury, when he drew off his cannon, very
" easily have defeated his whole army, if he would
" have permitted it to have been engaged: that he
" went to him, and shewed him evidently how it
" might be done; and desired him that he would
" give him leave, with his own brigade of horse, to
" charge the king's army in their retreat; and the
" earl, with the rest of his army, might look on, and
" do as he should think fit: but that the earl had,
" notwithstanding all importunity used by him and
" other officers, positively and obstinately refused
" to permit him; giving no other reason, but that,
" he said, if they did engage, and overthrow the
" king's army, the king would always have another
" army to keep up the war; but if that army which
" he commanded should be overthrown, before the
" other under the earl of Essex should be rein-
" forced, there would be an end of their pretences;
" and they should be all rebels and traitors, and
" executed and forfeited by the law."

This pronunciation what the law would do against them was very heavily taken by the parliament, as if the earl believed the law to be against them, after so many declarations made by them, " that " the law was on their side, and that the king's " arms were taken up against the law." The earl confessed " he had used words to that effect, that " they should be treated as traitors, if their army " was defeated, when he did not approve the " advice that was given by the lieutenant general; " which would have exposed the army to greater " hazard, than he thought seasonable in that con-

" juncture, in the middle of the winter, to expose it " to." He then recriminated Cromwell, " that, at " another time, Cromwell discoursing freely with " him of the state of the kingdom, and proposing " somewhat to be done," the earl had answered, " that the parliament would never approve it:" to which Cromwell presently replied, " My lord, if " you will stick firm to honest men, you shall find " yourself in the head of an army, that shall give " the law to king and parliament: which discourse, " he said, made great impression in him; for he " knew the lieutenant general to be a man of very " deep designs; and therefore he was the more " careful to preserve an army, which he yet thought " was very faithful to the parliament."

This discourse startled those who had always an aversion to Cromwell, and had observed the fierceness of his nature, and the language he commonly used when there was any mention of peace; so that they desired that this matter might be throughly examined, and brought to judgment. But the other side put all obstructions in the way, and rather chose to lose the advantage they had against the earl of Manchester, than to have the other matter examined; which would unavoidably have made some discoveries which they were not yet ready to produce. However the animosities increased, and the parties appeared barefaced against each other; which increased the distractions, and divided the city as well as the parliament; and new opinions started up in religion, which made more subdivisions; and new terms and distinctions were brought into discourse; and fanatics were now first brought into appellation: which kind of con-

fusions exceedingly disposed men of any sober understanding to wish for peace; though none knew how to bring the mention of it into the parliament.

The Scottish commissioners were as jealous and as unsatisfied as any other party; and found, since the battle of York, neither their army nor themselves so much considered as before, nor any conditions performed towards them with any punctuality. They had long had jealousy of Cromwell and sir Henry Vane, and all that party; which they saw increased every day, and grew powerful in the parliament, in the council, and in the city. Their sacred vow and covenant was mentioned with less reverence and respect, and the independents, which comprehended many sects in religion, spake publicly against it; of which party Cromwell and Vane were the leaders, with very many clergymen, who were the most popular preachers, and who in the assembly of divines had great authority: so that the Scots plainly perceived, that though they had gone as far towards the destruction of the church of England as they desired, they should never be able to establish their presbyterian government; without which they should lose all their credit in their own country, and all their interest in England. They discerned likewise, that there was a purpose, if that party prevailed, to change the whole frame of the government, as well civil as ecclesiastical, and to reduce the monarchy to a republic; which was as far from the end and purpose of that nation, as to restore episcopacy. So that they saw no way to prevent the mischief and confusion that would fall out, but by a peace;

which they began heartily to wish, and to conspire with those of that party which most desired to bring it to pass; but how to set a treaty on foot, they knew not.

The house of peers, three or four men excepted, wished it, but had no power to compass it. In the house of commons, there were enough who would have been very glad of it, but had not the courage to propose it. They who had an inward aversion from it, and were resolved to prevent it by all possible means, wrought upon many of the other to believe, "that they would accept of a proposition "for a treaty, if the king desired it; but that it "would be dishonourable, and of very pernicious "consequence to the nation, if the parliament first "proposed it." So that it seemed evident, that if any of the party which did in truth desire peace, should propose it to the parliament, it would be rejected; and rejected upon the point of honour, by many of those who in their hearts prayed for it.

They tried their old friends of the city, who had served their turns so often, and set some of them to get hands to a petition, by which the parliament should be moved "to send to the king to treat of "peace." But that design was no sooner known, but others of an opposite party were appointed to set a counter petition on foot, by which they should "disclaim any consent [to], or approbation of, "the other petition; not that they did not desire "peace as much as their neighbours," (nobody was yet arrived at the impudence to profess against peace,) "but that they would not presume to move "the parliament in it, because they knew, their

" wisdom knew best the way to obtain it, and " would do what was necessary and fit towards it; " to which they wholly left it."

And this petition found more countenance among the magistrates, the mayor, and aldermen; sir Henry Vane having diligently provided, that men of his own principles and inclinations should be brought into the government of the city; of which he saw they should always have great need, even in order to keep the parliament well disposed. So that they who did in truth desire any reasonable peace, found the way to it so difficult, and that it was impossible to prevail with the two houses to propose it to the king, that they resolved, " it " could only rise from his majesty; and to that " purpose they should all labour with their several " friends at Oxford, to incline the king to send a " message to the parliament, to offer a treaty of " peace in any place where they should appoint; " and then they would all run the utmost hazard " before it should be rejected."

The independent party, (for under that style and appellation they now acted, and owned themselves,) which feared and abhorred all motions towards peace, were in as great straits as the other, how to carry on their designs. They were resolved to have no more to do with either of their generals, but how to lay them aside [was the difficulty]; especially the earl of Essex, who had been so entirely their founder, that they owed not more to the power and reputation of parliament, than to his sole name and credit: the being able to raise an army, and conducting it to fight against the king, was purely due to him, and the effect of his power.

And now to put such an affront upon him, and to think of another general, must appear the highest ingratitude, and might provoke the army itself, where he was still exceedingly beloved; and to continue him in that trust, was to betray their own designs, and to render them impracticable. Therefore, till they could find some expedient to explicate and disentangle themselves out of this labyrinth, they made no advance towards the recruiting or supplying their armies, nor to provide for any winter expedition; only they sent Waller out, with such troops towards the west, as they cared not for, and resolved to use their service no more.

They knew not how to propose the great alterations, they intended, to the parliament; and of all men, the Scotch commissioners were not to be trusted. In the end, they resolved to pursue the method in which they had been hitherto so successful, and to prepare and ripen things in the church, that they might afterwards in due time grow to maturity in the parliament. They agreed therefore in the houses, (and in those combinations they were always unanimous,) "that they would have a solemn "fast-day, in which they would *seek God*," (which was the new phrase they brought from Scotland with their covenant,) "and desire his assistance, to "lead them out of the perplexities they were in:" and they did as readily agree in the nomination of the preachers who were to perform that exercise, and who were more trusted in the deepest designs, than most of those who named them were: for there was now a schism among their clergy, as well as the laity, and the independents were the bolder and more political men.

When the fast-day came, (which was observed for eight or ten hours together in the churches,) the preachers prayed "the parliament might be in- "spired with those thoughts, as might contribute "to their honour and reputation; and that they "might preserve that opinion the nation had of "their honesty and integrity, and be without any "selfish ends, or seeking their own benefit and "advantage." After this preparation by their prayers, the preachers, let their texts be what they would, told them very plainly, "that it was no "wonder there was such division among them in "their counsels, when there was no union in their "hearts: that the parliament lay under many re- "proaches, not only among their enemies, but "with their best friends; who were the more out "of countenance, because they found that the "aspersions and imputations which their enemies "had laid upon them were so well grounded, that "they could not wipe them off: that there was as "great pride, as great ambition, as many private "ends, and as little zeal and affection for the pub- "lic, as they had ever imputed to the court: that, "whilst they pretended, at the public cost, and out "of the purses of the poor people, to make a "general reformation, they took great care to "grow great and rich themselves; and that both "the city and kingdom took notice, with great "anxiety of mind, that all the offices of the army, "and all the profitable offices of the kingdom, "were in the hands of the members of the two "houses of parliament; who, whilst the nation "grew poor, as it must needs do under such in- "supportable taxes, grew very rich; and would, in

" a short time, get all the money of the kingdom " into their hands; and that it could not reason- " ably be expected, that such men, who got so " much, and enriched themselves to that degree, " by the continuance of the war, would heartily " pursue those ways which would put an end to it; " the end whereof must put an end to their exor- " bitant profit." And when they had exaggerated these reproaches as pathetically as they could, and the sense the people generally had of the corruption of it, even to a despair of ever seeing an end of the calamities they sustained, or having any prospect of that reformation in church and state, which they had so often and so solemnly promised to effect, they fell again to their prayers, " that " God would take his own work into his hand; " and if the instruments he had already employed " were not worthy to bring so glorious a design to " a conclusion, that he would inspire others more " fit, who might perfect what was begun, and " bring the trouble of the nation to a godly " period."

When the two houses met together, the next day after these devout animadversions, there was another spirit appeared in the looks of many of them. Sir Henry Vane told them, " if ever God had ap- " peared to them, it was in the exercise of yester- " day; and that it appeared, it proceeded from " God, because (as he was credibly informed by " many, who had been auditors in other congrega- " tions) the same lamentations and discourses had " been made in all other churches, as the godly " preachers had made before them; which could " therefore proceed only from the immediate Spirit

" of God." He repeated some things which had been said, upon which he was best prepared to enlarge; and besought them " to remember their " obligations to God, and to their country; and " that they would free themselves from those just " reproaches; which they could do no otherwise, " than by divesting themselves of all offices and " charges, that might bring in the least advantage " and profit to themselves; by which only they " could make it appear, that they were public-" hearted men; and as they paid all taxes and " impositions with the rest of the nation, so they " gave up all their time to their country's service, " without any reward or gratuity."

He told them, " that the reflections of yesterday, " none of which had ever entered upon his spirit " before, had raised another reflection in him than " had been mentioned; which was, that it had " been often taken notice of, and objected by the " king himself, that the numbers of the members " of parliament, who sat in either house, were too " few to give reputation to acts of so great mo-" ment, as were transacted in their councils; which, " though it was no fault of theirs, who kept their " proper stations, but of those who had deserted " their places, and their trusts, by being absent " from the parliament; yet that, in truth, there " were too many absent, though in the service of " the house, and by their appointment; and if all " the members were obliged to attend the service " of the parliament, in the parliament, it would " bring great reputation to their numbers, and the " people would pay more reverence, and yield a " fuller obedience to their commands:" and then

concluded, " that he was ready to accuse himself " for one of those who gained by an office he had; " and though he was possessed of it before the " beginning of the troubles, and owed it not to " the favour of the parliament," (for he had been joined with sir William Russel in the treasurership of the navy, by the king's grant,) " yet he was " ready to lay it down, to be disposed of by the " parliament; and wished, that the profits thereof " might be applied towards the support of the war."

When the ice was thus broke, Oliver Cromwell, who had not yet arrived at the faculty of speaking with decency and temper, commended the preachers " for having dealt plainly and impartially, and told " them of their faults, which they had been so un- " willing to hear of: that there were many things, " upon which he had never reflected before, yet " upon revolving what had been said, he could not " but confess, that all was very true; and till there " were a perfect reformation in those particulars " which had been recommended to them, nothing " would prosper that they took in hand: that the " parliament had done very wisely, in the entrance " into the war, to engage many members of their " own in the most dangerous parts of it, that the " nation might see that they did not intend to " embark them in perils of war, whilst themselves " sat securely at home out of gunshot, but would " march with them where the danger most threat- " ened; and those honourable persons, who had " exposed themselves this way, had merited so " much of their country, that their memories should " be held in perpetual veneration; and whatsoever " should be well done after them, would be always

" imputed to their example: but, that God had so " blessed their army, that there had grown up " with it, and under it, very many excellent officers, " who were fit for much greater charges than they " were now possessed of;" and desired them " not " to be terrified with an imagination, that if the " highest offices were vacant, they would not be " able to put as fit men into them; for, besides " that it was not good to put so much trust in any " arm of flesh, as to think such a cause as this de- " pended upon any one man, he did take upon him " to assure them, that they had officers in their " army, who were fit to be generals in any enter- " prise in Christendom."

He said " he thought nothing so necessary as to " purge and vindicate the parliament from the par- " tiality towards their own members;" and made a proffer to lay down his commission of command in the army; and desired, " that an ordinance might " be prepared, by which it might be made unlawful " for any member of either house of parliament to " hold any office or command in the army, or any " place or employment of profit in the state;" and so concluded with an enlargement upon " the vices " and corruptions which were gotten into the " army; the profaneness, and impiety, and absence " of all religion; the drinking and gaming, and all " manner of license, and laziness;" and said plainly, " that till the whole army were new modelled, and " governed under a stricter discipline, they must " not expect any notable success in any thing they " went about."

And this debate ended in appointing a committee, " to prepare an ordinance for the exclusion of

" all members from the trust aforesaid;" which took up much debate, and depended very long before it was brought to a conclusion; and in the end was called the *self-denying ordinance;* the driving on of which exceedingly increased the inclination of the other party to peace; which they did now foresee would only prevent their own ruins, in that of the kingdom.

Advice came from so many several hands to Oxford, that the king should send a message to the houses for peace, with an assurance that it would not be rejected, that his majesty (who still apprehended as great a division among his own friends upon the conditions of peace, out of the universal weariness of the war, as he discerned there was among his enemies upon the emulation in command, or differences in religion) entered upon the consideration how to bring it to pass. The members of parliament were still sitting at Oxford: but they at London who were most desirous of peace, had given warning to avoid that rock; and that their names should never be mentioned; which would have procured an union between the most irreconcilable parties, in throwing out such overtures. On the other side, the sending a bare message, by a trumpet, was not probably like to produce any other effect, than an insolent answer in the same way, or no answer at all, as his two or three last messages had done.

In conclusion, the king resolved that there should be a short message drawn; in which " the continu-
" ance of the war, and the mischiefs it brought
" upon the kingdom, should be lamented: and
" therefore his desire expressed, that some reason-

" able conditions of peace might be thought upon;
" assuring them that his majesty would be willing
" to consent to any thing, that could consist with
" his conscience and honour." He resolved, that he would send this message by some persons of condition; who might, upon conference with their friends, be able to make some impression; at least discover what might be reasonably expected. And if the parliament should refuse to grant a safe conduct for such messengers, it might well be presumed, what reception the message itself was like to find. The persons he resolved to send, were the duke of Richmond, and the earl of Southampton; both of unblemished honour, and of general reputation in the kingdom. So a trumpet was sent to the earl of Essex for a safe guard, or pass, to those two lords; to the end they might deliver a message from the king to the two houses concerning a treaty of peace. To which the earl of Essex only answered, " that he would acquaint
" the houses with it, and return their answer;" and so dismissed the trumpet.

The king had now done his part; and the rest was to be perfected there. They who were resolved never to admit a peace, though they could not still prevent a treaty, thought they had advantage enough to object against this unusual message:
" If the message itself had been sent, they might
" have judged, whether it had been like to be at-
" tended with good success, and so might have
" accepted a treaty, if they had approved of it;
" but this sending of messengers before they knew
" what they would bring, was an invention to begin
" a treaty before they admitted it; and to send

" enemies into their quarters, with authority to " scatter their poison abroad :" and therefore, with great passion, they pressed, " that no such pass " should be sent." On the other hand it was, with equal passion, alleged, " that the refusal of " the safe conduct was a total rejection of peace, " before they understood upon what terms it would " be offered ; which the people would take very ill " from them, and conclude that the war must con- " tinue for ever ; they therefore wished that a safe " guard might be sent without delay, and that they " would have a better opinion of their friends, than " to imagine that the presence or power of two " men, how considerable soever, would be able to " corrupt or pervert their affections from the par- " liament."

In this opinion the Scottish commissioners likewise concurred ; so that the other party found it necessary to consent, and the safe conduct, after many debates, was sent accordingly. But that they might not seem to their friends abroad to be overpowered, they revenged themselves in pursuing the despatch of their *self-denying ordinance* with great vehemence ; and because the effect of that was manifestly that they should be without a general, it was already proposed, " that sir Thomas " Fairfax " (who had behaved himself so signally in their service in the defeat of colonel Bellasis, and taking him prisoner, which gave them their first footing in Yorkshire, from their being shut up and besieged in Hull ; in the overthrow of the lord Byron, and taking all the Irish regiments ; and lastly in the late battle at York, where he had turned the fortune of the day, when the Scots'

army was routed, and their general fled) " might " now be made their general ;" for which Oliver Cromwell assured them he was very equal. And in the discourses upon this subject, (which found all opposition,) as the service of the earl of Essex was much magnified, and his merit extolled, by those who desired to have no other general, so it was undervalued and depressed, with some bitterness and contumely, by those who believed that all they could do would be to no purpose, if he were not totally excluded from any power.

Shortly after the beginning of December, the duke of Richmond and the earl of Southampton, upon their pass, went from Oxford to London; where they were advised not to go much abroad, lest the people should be apt to do them injury; and very few had the courage to come to them, except with great privacy. Only the Scottish commissioners, as men in sovereign authority, and independent upon the parliament, made no scruple of visiting them, and being visited by them. The houses did not presently agree upon the manner of their reception, how they should deliver their message; in which there had been before no difficulty, whilst the war was carried on only by the authority of the parliament. Then the message being delivered to either house, was quickly communicated to the other; but now the Scottish commissioners made a third estate, and the message was directed to them as well as to the houses. In the end it was resolved, " that there should be a conference " between the two houses in the painted chamber; " at which the Scottish commissioners should be " present, and sit on one side of the table; and

" that the upper end of it should be kept for the " king's messengers :" where there was a seat provided for them, all the rest being bare, and expecting that they would be so too : for though the lords used to be covered whilst the commons were bare, yet the commons would not be bare before the Scottish commissioners ; and so none were covered. But as soon as the two lords came thither, they covered, to the trouble of the other ; but, being presently to speak, they were quickly freed from that eyesore.

The [two] lords used very few words, in letting them know the king's great inclinations to peace ; and delivered and read their message to that purpose ; which was received by the lords without any other expressions than " that they should report it " to the houses ;" and so the meeting broke up : and then many of the lords, and some of the commons, passed some compliments and ceremony to the two lords, according to the acquaintance they had with them, and found opportunities to see them in private, or to send confident persons to them. They found there were great divisions among them, and upon points that would admit no reconciliation : and therefore they believed that there would be a treaty of peace ; but they could not make any such guess of the moderation of the conditions of the peace, as to conclude that it would be with effect. For they that most desired the peace, and would have been glad to have had it upon any terms, durst not own that they wished it, but upon the highest terms of honour and security for the parliament ; which could neither be secure nor honourable for the king. They discovered, that they

who did heartily wish the peace, did intend to promote a treaty between persons named by the king and persons named by the parliament, to meet at some third place, and not that they should send commissioners to Oxford to treat with the king himself; which they had already found to be ineffectual, and not like to produce a better end: whereas they did believe, or seemed to believe, that how unreasonable soever the propositions should be, upon which they treated, they would, by yielding to some things, when they refused others, sooner prevail with the houses to mollify their demands, than at first to reform them.

This method was not ungrateful to the two lords; who had the same conceptions, that, if sober men were named for commissioners, somewhat would result from the freedom of their communication. And the duke of Richmond sent his secretary Web expressly to Oxford, to know the king's pleasure, "whether, if a third place were "proposed for commissioners on both sides to "meet, they should consent to it?" which his majesty (though he had no mind to trust others, but where himself was present) was persuaded to approve. But all this was but discourse, and private wishes: for it was never brought into debate; and it was told them very plainly, "that, as long as they "stayed in town, the houses would never so much "as confer upon the subject of their message; be-"cause they found it would be matter of great debate, "and spend much time; during which they did not "desire their company, nor to be troubled with their "infusions." And therefore, as soon as they had received the king's message, they proceeded upon

their trial of the archbishop of Canterbury before both houses of parliament, upon an impeachment of high treason, resolving likewise to give that evidence to the people, of what resolution they had to make a peace with the king. The two lords, observing this affected delay in the business they were sent about, and being advised by their friends not to stay longer, but to expect the determination to be sent to Oxford, returned to the king, with some confidence that a treaty would be consented to; and that it would be at some third place, and not at Oxford, and less at London, by commissioners which should be agreed on by both sides. But they brought an express desire, and even a condition to the king, from all those with whom they had conferred, and who were the chief persons who advanced the treaty, "that, if that which "they laboured for should be yielded to by the "parliament, his majesty would not name a per-"son" (whom they mentioned to the king) "for "one of his commissioners; for that he was so "odious, that they would absolutely decline the "treaty, before they would admit him to be one of "the treaters."

It was, as is said before, a very sad omen to the treaty, that, after they had received the king's message by those noble lords, and before they returned any answer to it, they proceeded in the trial of the archbishop of Canterbury; who had lain prisoner in the Tower, from the beginning of the parliament, full four years, without any prosecution till this time, when they brought him to the bars of both houses; charging him with several articles of high treason; which, if all that was alleged against him

had been true, could not have made him guilty of treason. They accused him " of a design to bring " in popery, and of having correspondence with the " pope," and such like particulars, as the consciences of his greatest enemies absolved him from. No man was a greater or abler enemy to popery; no man a more resolute and devout son of the church of England. He was prosecuted by lawyers, assigned to that purpose, out of those, who from their own antipathy to the church and bishops, or from some disobligations received from him, were sure to bring passion, animosity, and malice enough of their own; what evidence soever they had from others. And they did treat him with all the rudeness, reproach, and barbarity imaginable; with which his judges were not displeased.

He defended himself with great and undaunted courage, and less passion than was expected from his constitution; answered all their objections with clearness and irresistible reason; and convinced all men of his integrity, and his detestation of all treasonable intentions. So that though few excellent men have ever had fewer friends to their persons, yet all reasonable men absolved him from any foul crime that the law could take notice of, and punish. However, when they had said all they could against him, and he all for himself that need to be said, and no such crime appearing, as the lords, as the supreme court of judicatory, would take upon them to judge him to be worthy of death, they resorted to their legislative power, and by ordinance of parliament, as they called it, that is, by a determination of those members who sat in the houses, (whereof in the house of peers there were not

above twelve,) they appointed him to be put to death, as guilty of high treason. The first time that two houses of parliament had ever assumed that jurisdiction, or that ever ordinance had been made to such a purpose, nor could any rebellion be more against the law, than that murderous act.

When the first mention was made of their monstrous purpose, of bringing the archbishop to a trial for his life, the chancellor of the exchequer, who had always a great reverence and affection for him, had spoken to the king of it, and proposed to him, "that in all events, there might be a pardon "prepared, and sent to him, under the great seal "of England; to the end, if they proceeded against "him in any form of law, he might plead the king's "pardon; which must be allowed by all who pre-"tended to be governed by the law; but if they "proceeded in a martial, or any other extraordi-"nary way, without any form of law, his majesty "should declare his justice and affection to an old "faithful servant, whom he much esteemed, in "having done all towards his preservation that "was in his power to do." The king was wonderfully pleased with the proposition; and took from thence occasion to commend the piety and virtue of the archbishop, with extraordinary affection; and commanded the chancellor of the exchequer to cause the pardon to be drawn, and his majesty would sign and seal it with all possible secrecy; which at that time was necessary. Whereupon the chancellor sent for sir Thomas Gardiner the king's solicitor, and told him the king's pleasure; upon which he presently prepared the pardon, and it was signed and sealed with the great seal of England, and

carefully sent, and delivered into the archbishop's own hand, before he was brought to his trial; who received it with great joy, as it was a testimony of the king's gracious affection to him, and care of him, without any opinion that they who endeavoured to take away the king's life, would preserve his by his majesty's authority.

When the archbishop's council had perused the pardon, and considered that all possible exceptions would be taken to it, though they should not reject it, they found, that the impeachment was not so distinctly set down in the pardon as it ought to be; which could not be helped at Oxford, because they had no copy of it; and therefore had supplied it with all those general expressions, as, in any court of law, would make the pardon valid against any exceptions the king's own council could make against it. Hereupon, the archbishop had, by the same messenger, returned the pardon again to the chancellor, with such directions and copies as were necessary; upon which it was perfected accordingly, and delivered safely again to him, and was in his hands during the whole time of his trial. So when his trial was over, and the ordinance passed for the cutting off his head, and he called and asked, according to custom in criminal proceedings, "what "he could say more, why he should not suffer "death?" he told them, "that he had the king's "gracious pardon, which he pleaded, and tendered "to them, and desired that it might be allowed." Whereupon he was sent to the Tower, and the pardon read in both houses; where, without any long debate, it was declared "to be of no effect, "and that the king could not pardon a judgment

" of parliament." And so, without troubling themselves farther, they gave order for his execution; which he underwent with all Christian courage and magnanimity, to the admiration of the beholders, and confusion of his enemies. Much hath been said of the person of this great prelate before, of his great endowments, and natural infirmities; to which shall be added no more in this place, (his memory deserving a particular celebration,) than that his learning, piety, and virtue, have been attained by very few, and the greatest of his infirmities are common to all, even to the best men.

When they had despatched this important work, and thereby received a new instance of the good affection and courage of their friends, and involved the two houses in fresh guilt and obloquy, (for too many concurred in it, without considering the heinousness of it, and only to keep their credit clear and entire, whereby they might with the more authority advance the peace that was desired,) they now enter upon the debate, " what answer they " should send the king, concerning a treaty for " peace." They who desired to advance it, hoped thereby to put an end to all the designs of new modelling the army, and to prevent the increase of those factions in religion, which every day broke out among them, to the notorious scandal of Christianity. They who had no mind to a treaty, because they had minds averse from all thoughts of peace, discerned plainly, that they should not be able to finish their design upon the army, and set many other devices on foot, which would contribute to their convenience, until this longed-for treaty were at an end; and therefore they all agreed to give

some conclusion to it; and resolved, that there should be a treaty, and upon the method that should be observed in the conducting it; from which they who should be employed by them, should not recede or be diverted.

And then they nominated sixteen commissioners for the two houses, and four for the parliament of Scotland, and named Uxbridge for the place where the treaty should be; which treaty should be limited to be finished within twenty days from the time when it should begin.

Upon this conclusion, they sent their answer to the message they had received from the king by a trumpet, in a letter from their general to the king's general; in which they informed his majesty, "that, "out of their passionate desire of peace, they had "agreed to his proposition for a treaty; and that "they had assigned Uxbridge for the place where "it should be; and had appointed the earl of "Northumberland, the earl of Pembroke, the earl "of Salisbury, and the earl of Denbigh, of the "house of peers; and of the commons, the lord "Wainman, Mr. Pierpoint, Mr. Hollis, Mr. Saint-"John," (whom they called the king's solicitor general,) "sir Henry Vane the younger, Mr. Whit-"lock, Mr. Crew, and Mr. Prideaux; and for the "kingdom of Scotland, the lord Lowden, chancellor "of Scotland, the lord Maitland," (who, by the death of his father, became earl of Lauderdale by the time of the treaty,) "sir Charles Erskin, and "one Mr. Barclay, to be their commissioners; to-"gether with Mr. Alexander Henderson, in mat-"ters only which relate to the church; to treat, "upon the particulars they had intrusted them

" with, with such persons, as his majesty should " please to nominate; for all whom a safe conduct " should be sent, as soon as his majesty had named " them; as they desired his majesty's safe conduct " for the persons named by them:" to none of which the king took any exception, but signed their pass; and sent word to the houses, " that he ac- " cepted the treaty, and the place, and that he had " nominated, as commissioners for him, the duke of " Richmond, the marquis of Hertford, the earl of " Southampton, the earl of Kingston, the earl of " Chichester, the lord Capel, the lord Seymour, " the lord Hatton, controller of the king's house- " hold; the lord Colepepper, master of the rolls; " sir Edward Hyde, chancellor of the exchequer; " sir Edward Nicholas, principal secretary of state; " sir Richard Lane, lord chief baron of his court " of exchequer; sir Thomas Gardiner, his majesty's " solicitor general; sir Orlando Bridgman, attorney " of his court of wards; Mr. John Ashburnham, " and Mr. Geoffry Palmer; and desired that a " safe conduct might be sent for them, as his ma- " jesty had sent for the others; and they should " then be ready, at the day that was set down, at " Uxbridge."

When this was returned to Westminster, there arose new disputes upon the persons named by the king, or rather against the additions, and appellations of title, which were made to their names; for they did not except against the persons of either of them, though many were most ungracious to them.

When the lord keeper Littleton had fled from Westminster, upon his majesty's commands to

attend him at York, the two houses had, in their fury, declared, "that nothing which should, from "that time, pass under the great seal, should be "good and valid, but void and null." Which they did to discredit any commission, which they foresaw might issue out for their conviction, trial, and attainder: and, in some time after, they had caused a great seal to be made with the king's image, for the despatch of the necessary process in law, and proceedings in courts of justice; which seal was committed by them to some of their members, who had sat in the chancery, and transacted the business of that court, and applied the seal to all those uses and purposes it had been accustomed unto. They found this declaration and ordinance of theirs invaded in this message they had now received from the king. The lord Dunsmore was created earl of Chichester; sir Christopher Hatton, lord Hatton; sir John Colepepper, lord Colepepper, with the addition of master of the rolls; which office they had bestowed upon Lenthall their speaker, who was in possession of it; sir Edward Hyde was declared chancellor of the exchequer; which, though it was an office they had not meddled with bestowing, yet it had passed the great seal, after it came into the king's hands. Sir Thomas Gardiner was made the king's solicitor; and the patent formerly granted to their beloved Saint-John, stood revoked, which they would not endure, having, as is said, annexed that title to his name when they mentioned him as a commissioner for their treaty. They had the same exception to the chief baron, and to the attorney of the wards; both which offices were in the possession of men more in their favour.

After long debate, they were contented to insert their names in their safe conduct, without their honours or offices; and they were so angry with the chancellor of the exchequer, that they had no mind that he should be styled a knight, because he was not so when he left the parliament: but the Scottish commissioners prevailed in that point, since they had not yet pretended to take away the use of the king's sword from him; so they allowed him, by a majority of votes, to be a knight, and sent their safe conduct, in the manner as is mentioned, to Oxford: upon which the king, upon the desire of the persons concerned, forbore to insist; but giving them still in his own pass, and in his commission whereby they were authorized to treat with them, the style and appellation which belonged to them, and which must be allowed by the others before they begun to treat. The style of their pass was not thought worthy any reply; and because there was private animadversion given at the same time, "that they would not, when they met at the "treaty, consider any authority that qualified them "to treat, but only what should be under the king's "sign-manual," though they would not take that for a sufficient warrant for themselves to treat with the king's enemies; at last they were contented, together with a commission under the great seal of England, to take another likewise with them in that form, and only under the sign-manual, as was desired.

About the end of January, or the beginning of February, the commissioners on both sides met at Uxbridge; which being within the enemy's quarters, the king's commissioners were to have such

accommodations, as the other thought fit to leave to them; who had been very civil in the distribution, and left one entire side of the town to the king's commissioners, one house only excepted, which was given to the earl of Pembroke; so that they had no cause to complain of their accommodation, which was as good as the town would yield, and as good as the other had. There was a fair house at the end of the town, which was provided for the treaty, where was a fair room in the middle of the house, which was handsomely dressed up for the commissioners to sit in; a large square table being placed in the middle, and some seats for the commissioners, one side being sufficient for those of either party, and a rail for others who should be thought necessary to be present, which went round. There were many other rooms on either side of this great room, for the commissioners on either side to retire to, when they thought fit to consult together, and to return again to the public debate; and there being good stairs at either end of the house, they never went through each other's quarters; nor met, but in the great room.

As soon as the king's commissioners came to the town, all those of the parliament came to visit and to welcome them, and, within an hour, those of the king's returned their visits with ordinary civilities; each professing great desire and hope, that the treaty would produce a good peace. The visits were all together, and in one room; the Scots being in the same room with the English; either party eating always together, there being two great inns which served very well to that purpose. The duke of Richmond, being steward of his majesty's

house, kept his table there for all the king's commissioners: nor was there any restrained from giving and receiving visits apart, as their acquaintance and inclinations disposed them; in which those of the king's party used their accustomed freedom, as heretofore. But on the other side there was great wariness and reservedness, and so great a jealousy of each other, that they had no mind to give or receive visits to or from their old friends, whom they loved better than their new. Nor would any of them be seen alone with any of the king's commissioners, but had always one of their companions with them, and sometimes one whom they least trusted. It was observed by the town, and the people that flocked thither, that the king's commissioners looked as if they were at home, and governed the town, and the other as if they were not in their own quarters: and the truth is, they had not that alacrity and serenity of mind, as men use to have who do not believe themselves to be in a fault.

The king's commissioners would willingly have performed their devotions in the church, nor was there any restraint upon them from doing so, that is, by inhibition from the parliament, otherwise than that by the parliament's ordinance (as they called it) the Book of Common Prayer was not permitted to be read, nor the vestures nor ceremonies of the church to be used. So that the days of devotion were observed in their great room of the inn; whither many of the country, and the train of the commissioners, and other persons, who came every day from London, usually resorted.

When the commissioners on both sides met first

together in the room appointed for the treaty, and had taken their seats, it being left to the king's commissioners which side of the table they would take, the earl of Northumberland, who always delivered any thing that was agreed between them, and read all the papers, (after the powers of both sides were examined and perused,) proposed some rules to be observed in the treaty; "of having "nothing binding, except all were agreed upon," and such like; to which there was no objection; and proposed, as a direction they had received from the parliament, "that they should first enter upon "the matter of religion, and treat four entire days "upon that subject, without entering upon any "other; and if all differences in that particular "were not adjusted within those days, they should "then proceed to the next point, which was the "militia; and observe the same method in that, "and from thence pass to the business of Ireland; "which three points being well settled, they be-"lieved the other differences would be with more "ease composed: and after those twelve days were "passed, they were to go round again upon the "several subjects, as long as the time limited "would continue: his majesty being left at liberty "to propose what he thought fit, at his own time, "and to break the method proposed." And it was declared, "that the twenty days, limited for "the treaty, were to be reckoned of the days which "should be spent in the treaty, and not the days "of coming or returning, or the days spent in de-"votion;" there falling out three Sundays and one fast-day in those first twenty days. The method was willingly consented to; the king's commis-

sioners conceiving it would be to no purpose to propose any thing on the king's behalf, till they discerned what agreement was like to be made in any one particular; by which they might take their measures, and they could propose any thing of moment under one of the three heads mentioned before.

There happened a very odd accident, the very first morning they met at the house to agree upon their method to be observed in the treaty. It was a market-day, when they used always to have a sermon, and many of the persons who came from Oxford in the commissioners' train, went to the church to observe the forms. There was one Love, a young man, that came from London with the commissioners, who preached, and told his auditory, which consisted of the people of the town, and of those who came to the market, the church being very full, "that they were not to expect any "good from the treaty; for that they were men of "blood who were employed in it from Oxford, "who intended only to amuse the people with ex-"pectation of peace, till they were able to do some "notable mischief to them;" and inveighed so seditiously against all cavaliers, that is, against all who followed the king, and against the persons of the commissioners, that he could be understood to intend nothing else, but to stir up the people to mutiny, and in it to do some act of violence upon the commissioners. Who were no sooner advertised of it, by several persons who had been present in the church, and who gave very particular information of the very words which had been spoken, than they informed the other commis-

sioners of it; gave them a charge in writing against the preacher, and demanded public justice. They seemed troubled at it, and promised to examine it, and cause some severe punishment to be inflicted upon the man; but afterwards confessed, "that "they had no authority to punish him, but that "they had caused him to be sharply reprehended, "and to be sent out of the town:" and this was all that could be obtained; so unwilling they were to discountenance any man who was willing to serve them. This is the same Love, who some years after, by Cromwell's particular prosecution, had his head cut off, upon Tower Hill, for being against the army.

It is not the purpose of this discourse to set down the particular transactions of this treaty; which were published by the king's order, shortly after the conclusion of it, and all the papers which had been delivered by the commissioners on either side, exposed to the view of the kingdom, in the method and manner in which they were delivered. Only such particulars as fell out in that time, and were never communicated, and many of them known to very few, shall be shortly mentioned, that they, who hereafter may have the perusal of this [history], may know how impossible it was, that this treaty could produce such a peace as both sides would have been glad of; and that they who governed the parliament then, had at that time the resolution to act those monstrous things, which they brought afterwards to pass.

The first business to be entered upon being that of religion, the divines of both sides were admitted to be present in the places appointed for them, op-

posite to each other; and Dr. Steward, clerk of the closet to the king, was a commissioner, as Mr. Henderson was on the other side; and they both sat covered without the bar, at the backs of the commissioners. On the parliament part it was proposed, "that all the bishops, deans, and chapters "might be immediately taken away and abolished; "and in the room thereof, that there might be "another government erected, such as should be "most agreeable to God's word, and the practice "of the best churches: that the Book of Common "Prayer might be taken away, and totally sup-"pressed; and that, instead thereof, a Directory "might be used," (in which there was likewise set down as much of the government which they meant to erect for the future, as was necessary to be provided for the present, and which supplied all the use of articles or canons, which they had likewise abolished;) and "that the king himself should "take the covenant, and consent to an act of par-"liament, whereby all persons of the kingdom "should be likewise obliged to take it." And the copies of the Covenant and the Directory were delivered at the same time to the king's commissioners; which were very long, and necessary to be read over, before any answer could be made to them. So they took that afternoon to peruse them together, and adjourned their treaty till the next morning; and though they entered upon the reading them before dinner, the Directory was so very long, that they spent all that afternoon, and some part of the night, before they had finished the reading of them. Then, there being many new terms in the Directory, as *congregational*, *classical*, *pro-*

*vincial*, and *synodical*, which were not known in practice, and some expressions in the Covenant which were ambiguous, and, they well knew, were left so, because the persons who framed them were not all of one mind, nor had the same intentions in some of the other terms mentioned before, the king's commissioners caused many questions to be prepared in writing, to be offered at the next meeting; wherein they desired to be informed, what their meaning was in such and such expressions, in which they knew well they had several meanings, and would hardly concur in one and the same answer: the preparing which papers was throughout the treaty always committed to the chancellor.

Within a day or two after the beginning of the treaty, or rather the day before it did begin, the earl of Lowden, chancellor of Scotland, visited the duke of Richmond privately in his chamber; and either proposed, or was very willing, to have private conference there with the chancellor of the exchequer; upon which the duke, who knew well the other would not decline it, sent to him; and he presently went to the duke's chamber, where he found them both; and after some short compliments, the earl told him, "how stoutly he had "defended his knighthood; which the parliament "had resolved to have denied, if he had not con-"vinced them." From thence he discoursed of "the great prejudice the parliament had against "him, as a man who more industriously opposed "peace than any other of the king's council: that "he had now a good opportunity to wipe off all "those jealousies, by being a good instrument in

" making this peace, and by persuading his majesty " to comply with the desires and supplications of " his parliament; which he hoped he would be."

The chancellor told him, " that the king did so " much desire a peace, that no man need advise " him, or could divert him, if fair and honourable " conditions of peace were offered to him; but if a " peace could not be had, but upon such con- " ditions as his majesty judged inconsistent with " his honour or his conscience, no man could have " credit enough to persuade him to accept it; and " that, for his own part, without reflecting upon " the good or ill opinion the parliament might " have of him, he would dissuade him from con- " senting to it." The other seemed disappointed in his so positive answer; yet, with great freedom, entered upon discourse of the whole matter; and, after some kind of apology, " that Scotland was so " far engaged in the quarrel, contrary to their " former intentions and professions," he did as good as conclude, " that if the king would satisfy " them in the business of the church, they would " not concern themselves in any of the other de- " mands." In which proposition, finding no kind of compliance from the chancellor of the exchequer, but sharp protestations against the demands, as inconsistent with conscience, justice, or religion, the conference broke off, without inclination in either of them to renew it. But, from that time, there was more contradiction, and quick repartees between them two throughout the treaty, than between any other of the body of the commissioners. And it was manifest enough, by the private conferences with other of the commission-

ers, that the parliament took none of the points in controversy less to heart, or were less united in, than in what concerned the church.

When, upon the next meeting of the commissioners, the questions, which were mentioned before, were read, and delivered by the duke of Richmond, who always performed that part on the behalf of the king's commissioners, as the earl of Northumberland did on the parliament's, there was a visible disorder in their countenances; some of them, smiling, said, We looked into their game; but without offering at any answer, they arose, and went to their room of consultation; where they remained in great passion, and wrangling, many hours: so that the other commissioners, finding that they were not like suddenly to agree, adjourned till the afternoon, and departed to dinner. As soon as they came together in the afternoon, and were sat, the earl of Northumberland said, "that they wondered there should appear any "difficulty in any expressions, upon which those "questions had been administered in the morning; "which to them seemed very clear and plain; "however, to give their lordships satisfaction, that "they had appointed another noble lord, there "present, who was well acquainted with the sig-"nification of all those words, to explain what the "common sense and meaning of them was." Thereupon, the earl of Lauderdale made a discourse upon the several questions, and what acceptation those expressions and words had. But being a young man, not accustomed to an orderly and decent way of speaking, and having no gracious pronunciation, and full of passion, he made every thing much

more difficult than it was before: so that the commissioners desired, "that they might receive an "answer in writing; since it was declared upon "the entrance of the treaty, that though in de- "bate any man might say what he thought neces- "sary, yet nothing should be understood to be "the sense of either side, but what was delivered "in writing; and therefore they desired, that "what that noble lord had said, which they pre- "sumed was the sense of all the rest, because they "had referred to him, and seemed satisfied with "what he had delivered, might be given to them "in writing; without which they knew not how to "proceed, or give an answer to what was proposed "to them." This demand, founded upon a rule of their own, which they knew not how to decline, put the Scottish commissioners into great passion: for all the English sat still without speaking a word, as if they were not concerned. The lord Lauderdale repeated what he had said before, a little more distinctly; and the chancellor of Scotland said, "that the things were so plain, that every man "could not choose but understand, and remember "what was spoken; and that the pressing to put it "in writing was only to spend time; which would "be quickly out, half the four days assigned for "the business of religion being to expire that "night;" and therefore passionately desired them, "that they would rest satisfied with what had "been spoken, and proceed upon the matter."

It was replied, "that they could not trust their "memories so far, as to prepare an answer to their "demands concerning the covenant, or directory, "except they were sure that they understood the

" full and declared meaning of their demand; which " they had less reason now to believe they did, than " before; since there was so much difficulty made " to satisfy them in writing; and therefore they " must insist upon receiving an answer to the " papers they had given:" and two or three of the king's commissioners withdrew, and prepared another paper; in which they set down the reasons which obliged them not to be satisfied with the discourse which had been made, and why they must insist upon the having it in writing; which being communicated to the rest as they sat, was likewise delivered to the others; who could not refuse to receive it, though it was plain enough they never intended to give any answer in writing; nor they on the king's side, to desist from demanding it: but they declared, " that as they presumed they should, " in the end, receive their answer in writing, which " they should not depart from, so it was their reso- " lution not to defer their farther proceeding upon " the matter; but they were ready to prosecute " that in the method they would desire;" and so it was resolved, " the next morning, to hear the di- " vines, who were of either party, what they would " say against or for episcopacy, and the govern- " ment, and lands of the church;" which were equally concerned in the debate.

On the king's part, besides Dr. Steward, who was a commissioner in matters relating to the church, there was Dr. Sheldon, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury; Dr. Lany, afterwards bishop of Ely; Dr. Fern, afterwards bishop of Chester; Dr. Potter, then dean of Worcester, and provost of Queen's college in Oxford; and Dr. Hammond; all who, being

the king's chaplains, were sent by him to attend the commissioners for their devotions, and for the other service of the church, as the management of the treaty required; which could not be foreseen. On the parliament side, besides Mr. Alexander Henderson, who was the commissioner, Mr. Marshall, a country parson in Essex, and an eminent preacher of that party, who was the chief chaplain in the army; Mr. Vines, a parson likewise in Warwickshire, and a scholar, (both of them of the assembly of divines, and so, very conversant in those points relating to the church, which had been so often disputed there,) Mr. Cheynel, one who had been fellow of Merton college in Oxford, and two or three others; who, bearing no parts in the disputes, had not their names remembered.

Mr. Henderson begun rather with rhetoric than logic, "of the necessity to change the government "of the church for the preservation of the state; "which was so much in danger, that it could be "preserved no other way; and therefore that in "conscience it ought to be consented to; that the "question was not about the preservation of both, "which, by the wisdoms of the parliaments of both "nations, was found to be impossible; but since "there could but one stand, whether they should "be both sacrificed, or the church given up, that "the state might be preserved: nor was the ques-"tion now whether episcopacy was lawful, and the "government by bishops consistent with religion; "but whether it was so necessary, that religion "could not be preserved without it; which was to "condemn all the reformed churches of Europe, "where there were no bishops, England only ex-

" cepted. It ought therefore to suffice, that the " parliament, which best understood what was good " for the nation, had found it to be a very unneces- " sary, inconvenient, and corrupt government, that " had been productive of great mischief to the king- " dom from the very time of the reformation; that " the bishops had always favoured popery, and pre- " served and continued many of the rights and cus- " toms thereof in their government and practice; " and had of late introduced many innovations into " the church, by the example and pattern of the " church of Rome, and to the great scandal of the " protestant churches of Germany, France, Scotland, " and Holland; that they had been the occasion of " the war between the two nations of Scotland and " England; and then of the rebellion in Ireland; " and now of the civil war in England; and there- " upon, that the parliament, in order to the uniting " all the protestant churches, which was the only " way to extinguish popery, had resolved to change " this inconvenient, mischievous government, and " erect another in the place of it, which should ad- " vance piety and true religion; and that he hoped " the king would concur in so godly an action, " which would prove so much for his glory." He took notice of " an old answer formerly made by* " a king of England, when the alteration of some " laws had been desired of him; *Nolumus leges* " *Angliæ mutare;* which, he said, must be a mis- " take in the impression: that it was impossible for

[* Let the reader take notice, that Mr. Henderson is mistaken in the English story. *Nolumus, &c.* was not said by a king, but to him. See Coke upon the Statute of Merton, cap. 9.]

" any king to lay it down as a rule, that he will not " change the laws; for most kings had changed " them often for their own and their subjects' bene- " fit: but the meaning must be, *Nolumus leges* " *Angliæ mutari*, we will change them as often as " there shall be occasion, but we will not suffer " them *mutari*, to be changed by the presumption " of others, without our consent." He said, " they " did not presume to think of compelling the king " to change the government of the church; but " they hoped he would willingly do it, upon the " humble petition of both kingdoms, and for his " own and their benefit: that he should say no " more, till he should hear the reasons from the di- " vines on the other side, why his majesty should " not consent to the advice of his parliament, since " he conceived nothing of conscience could be al- " leged against it, because it appeared by what his " majesty had consented to in Scotland, for the ut- " ter abolishing of bishops, that he did not believe " in his conscience that episcopacy was absolutely " necessary for the support of Christian religion."

Dr. Steward, with a much better countenance, told the commissioners, " that he hoped and knew " that their lordships were too well acquainted with " the constitution of the church of England, and " the foundation upon which it subsisted, to believe " it could be shaken by any of those arguments " which had been made against it." He said, " that " though he did believe it was impossible to prove " that a government, settled and continued without " intermission, from the time when Christianity was " first planted in England, and under which the " Christian religion had so much flourished, was an

" unlawful and antichristian government; yet that
" he expected, that they who had sworn to abolish
" it, and came now to persuade their lordships to
" concur with them in pressing the king to join in
" the same obligation, would not urge a less argu-
" ment for such their engagement, than the unlaw-
" fulness and wickedness of that government, which
" conscience obliged them to remove. But Mr.
" Henderson had wisely declined that argument,
" though in their common sermons, and other dis-
" courses in print, they gave it no better style than
" Antichristian; and had urged only the inconveni-
" ences which had fallen out from it, and the benefit
" which would result by the change, of which no
" judgment could be made, till it might be known
" what government they did intend to erect in the
" place of it; and since the union with the foreign
" protestant churches seemed to be their greatest
" reason for the prodigious alteration they proposed,
" he wished that they would set down, which fo-
" reign church it is, to which they meant to con-
" form, and make their new government by; for
" that he was assured, that the model which they
" seem affected to in their Directory, was not like
" to any of the foreign reformed churches now in
" the world." He said, " though he would not take
" upon him to censure the foreign churches, yet it
" was enough known, that the most learned men of
" those churches had lamented, that their reforma-
" tion was not so perfect as it ought to be, for want
" of episcopacy; which they could not be suffered
" to have: and they had always paid that reverence
" to the church of England, which they conceived
" due to it, as to the church to which God had

" vouchsafed the most perfect reformation, because " it retains all that was innocent, and venerable in " antiquity." He then enlarged upon the original institution of episcopacy; using all those arguments, which are still used by the most learned men in those disputes, to prove, that without bishops there could be no ordination of ministers, and consequently no administration of sacraments, or performance of the ministerial functions. He said, " he would not " presume to say any thing of his majesty's having " consented to the abrogation of episcopacy in Scot- " land, though he knew what his majesty himself " thinks of it, only that he had an obligation upon " him in conscience in this kingdom, which he had " not in that, which was his coronation oath, by " which he was bound to defend the rights of the " church; which alone would make it unlawful for " his majesty to consent to what was proposed, " both in the point of episcopacy, and the alien- " ation of the lands of the church; which would be " direct sacrilege."

And upon these several points, and what resulted from thence, the divines on both sides spent all that day, morning and afternoon, till it was very late in the night, and most part of the next day; only the commissioners on either side, at the first coming together, mornings and afternoons, presented such papers as they thought fit, upon what had passed in debate: as, the king's commissioners desired to know in writing, " whether the parlia- " ment commissioners did believe that the govern- " ment of the church by bishops was unlawful?" to which they could never obtain a categorical answer.

When the last of the four first days was past, (for it was near twelve of the clock at night,) and the Scottish commissioners observed that nothing was consented to which they looked for, the chancellor of Scotland entered into a long discourse, with much passion, against bishops, "of the mis-"chief they had done in all ages, and of their being "the sole causes of the late troubles in Scotland, "and of the present troubles in England:" remembered, "that the archbishop of Canterbury had "pursued the introduction of the liturgy and the "canons into Scotland with so great vehemence, "that, when it was desired that the publishing "them might be suspended for one month, that "the people might be the better prepared to sub-"mit to what they had not been before acquainted "with, he would by no means consent to that "delay; but caused it to be entered upon the "next Sunday, against the advice of many of the "bishops themselves; which put the people into "such a fury, that they could not be appeased. "He lamented and complained, that four days had "been now spent in fruitless debates; and that "though their divines had learnedly made it ap-"pear, that episcopacy had no foundation in "Scripture, and that it might be lawfully taken "away; and that notwithstanding it was evident "that it had been the cause of great mischief, "and the wisdom of parliament had thought the "utter taking it away to be absolutely necessary "for the preservation of the kingdom; their lord-"ships were still unmoved, and had yielded in no "one particular of importance, to give them satis-"faction; from which they could not but conclude,

" that they did not bring that hearty inclination to " peace, which they hoped they would have done;" and so concluded with some expressions more rude and insolent than were expected.

Whereupon the chancellor of the exchequer, not without some commotion, said, " that he did not " wonder that their lordships, who had for some " years been accustomed to such discourses, and " the more inclined to suppose all that was confi- " dently said to be reasonably proved, and so having " not been used to converse with any persons of a " contrary opinion, had been brought to consent " and approve those alterations, which they had " proposed; but that it seemed very admirable to " him, that their lordships could expect, or imagine " it possible, that they who never had heard such " things said before, nor could understand in so " little time what had been now said, should depart " from a faith, and a form of worship, in which " they had been educated from their cradle, and " which, upon so long observation and experience, " they looked upon with all possible approbation " and reverence, upon only hearing it inveighed " against four days; which would have been much " too little time to have warranted a conversion " from much less important opinions, they had so " long entertained; though their arguments had " had as much weight as they wanted." He said, " they were of opinion, that all those mischiefs and " inconveniences which they had mentioned, had " in truth proceeded from an over vehement desire " to overthrow episcopacy, not from the zeal to " support it: that if the archbishop of Canterbury " had been too precipitate in pressing the reception

"of that, which he thought a reformation, he paid "dearly for it; which made him the more wonder, "that they should blame them, for not submitting "to much greater alterations, than were at that "time proposed, in four days; when they re- "proached him, for not having given them a "whole month to consider." He said, "he might "assure their lordships with great sincerity, that "they were come thither with all imaginable "passion and desire, that the treaty might con- "clude in a happy and blessed peace; as he still "hoped it would: but if it should be otherwise, "that they would still believe their lordships "brought with them the same honourable and "pious inclinations, though the instructions and "commands from those who trusted them, re- "strained them from consenting to what in their "own judgments seemed reasonable." And so, without any manner of reply, both sides arose, and departed, it being near midnight.

There happened a pleasant accident on one of those days, which were assigned for the matter of religion. The commissioners of both sides, either before their sitting, or after their rising, enter- taining themselves together by the fire-side, as they sometimes did, it being extremely cold, in general and casual discourses, one of the king's commissioners asked one of the other, with whom he had familiarity, in a low voice, "why there was "not in their whole Directory any mention of the "Lord's Prayer, Creed, or the Ten Command- "ments, and so little of the Lord's Prayer?" as indeed there is not; the earl of Pembroke, over- hearing the discourse, answered aloud, and with

his usual passion, "that he, and many others, were "very sorry that they had been left out; that the "putting them in had taken up many hours' "debate in the house of commons, and that at last "the leaving them out had been carried by eight "or nine voices; and so they did not think fit to "insist upon the addition of them in the house of "peers; but many were afterwards troubled at it, "and he verily believed, if it were to do again, "they should carry it for the inserting them all "three;" which made many smile, to hear that the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments, had been put to the question, and rejected: and many of the other were troubled, and out of countenance with the reason the good lord had given for the exclusion.

The next subject of the treaty was the business of the militia; which their commissioners positively required "to be entirely vested in the par-"liament, and in such persons as they thought fit "to be confided in. This, they said, was more "necessary than ever, for the securing the people "from their fears and jealousies; which were now "much increased, and were capable of being "assuaged by no other means:" and delivered a large paper to that purpose, which contained no more than had been often said in their declarations, and as often answered in those which had been published by the king. And when the commissioners of the king, whereof there were four very eminent in the knowledge of the law, Lane, Gardiner, Bridgman, and Palmer, made the demand appear to be without any pretence of law or justice, and asserted it to be vested in the king by the law,

they never offered to allege any other argument, than the determination of the parliament, which had declared the right of the militia to be in them, from which they could not recede; so that the conferences were very short upon those days, but the papers very long which were mutually delivered; the preparing whereof took up the time; they of that side (even they who most desired the peace) both publicly and privately insisting "upon "having the whole command of the militia by sea "and land, and all the forts and ships of the king-"dom at their disposal; without which they "looked upon themselves as lost, and at the king's "mercy;" without considering that he must be at theirs, if such a jurisdiction was committed to them. But in this particular, he who was most reasonable among them, thought it very unreasonable to deny them that necessary security; and believed it could proceed from nothing else, but a resolution to take the highest vengeance upon their rebellion.

Then they entered upon the business of Ireland; in which they thought they had the king at very great advantage, and that his commissioners would not be able to answer the charges they should make upon that particular. And many of the commissioners on the king's part, who had not been well acquainted with those transactions, thought it would be a hard matter to justify all that the king had been necessitated to do; and any thing of grace towards the Irish rebels was as ungracious at Oxford as it was at London; because they knew the whole kingdom had a great detestation of them. They ripped up all that had been done from the beginning of that rebellion; "how the king had volun-

" tarily committed the carrying on that war to the
" two houses of parliament; that they had levied
" great sums of money upon the kingdom for that
" service; but finding that it was like to bring a
" greater burden upon the kingdom than it could
" bear, that his majesty had consented to an act of
" parliament for the encouragement of adventurers
" to bring in money, upon assurance of having land
" assigned to them in that kingdom, out of the
" forfeitures of the rebels, as soon as the rebellion
" should be suppressed; and had likewise, by the
" same act, put it out of his power to make any
" peace or cessation with those rebels, or to grant
" pardon to any of them, without consent of par-
" liament; and thereupon many of his majesty's
" subjects had brought in very considerable sums
" of money, by which they had been able to manage
" that war without putting this kingdom to farther
" charge; and God had so blessed the protestant
" forces there, that they had subdued and vanquished
" the rebels in all encounters; and, probably, by
" that time, the whole rebellion had been extin-
" guished, if the king had not, contrary to his pro-
" mise and obligation by that act of parliament,
" made a cessation with those execrable rebels,
" when they were not able to continue the war;
" and had called over many of those regiments,
" which the parliament had sent over against the
" Irish, to return hither to fight against the parlia-
" ment: by means whereof his protestant subjects
" of that kingdom were in great danger to be de-
" stroyed, and the kingdom to be entirely possessed
" by the papists." Enlarging themselves upon this subject, with all the envious insinuations they could

devise, to make the people believe, that the king was inclined to and favoured that rebellion; they demanded, "that the king would forthwith declare "that cessation to be void; and that he would "prosecute the war against those rebels with the "utmost fury; and that the act of parliament for "their reduction might be executed as it ought "to be."

The commissioners of the king prepared and delivered a very full answer in writing to all their demands; at the delivery whereof, they appointed the chancellor of the exchequer to enlarge upon any of those particulars, which made the counsels that had been taken just and necessary. This he did so particularly and convincingly, that those of the parliament were in much confusion, and the king's commissioners much pleased. He put them in mind of "their bringing those very troops, which were "levied by the king's authority for the suppression "of the rebellion in Ireland, to fight against the "king at Edge-hill, under the command of the earl "of Essex; of their having given over the prose-"cution of that war, or sending any supply of "arms, money, or ammunition thither; having "employed those magazines, which were provided "for that service, against his majesty; insomuch "as the privy-council of that kingdom had sent to "his majesty, that he would provide some other "way for the preservation of that kingdom, since "they could not be able to support the war any "longer, against the united power of the rebels: "that all overtures, which his majesty had made "towards peace, had been rejected by the parlia-"ment: and one hundred thousand pounds, brought

" in by the adventurers for Ireland, had been sent
" in one entire sum into Scotland, to prepare and
" dispose that kingdom to send an army to invade
" this; which they had done; and till then his
" majesty had not, in the least degree, swerved
" from the observation of that act of parliament:
" but when he saw that the parliament, instead of
" prosecuting the end and intention of that statute,
" applied it wholly to the carrying on the war
" against himself, he thought himself absolved be-
" fore God and man, if he did all he could to rescue
" and defend himself against their violence, by
" making a cessation with the rebels in Ireland,
" and by drawing over some regiments of his own
" army from thence, to assist him in England:
" which cessation had hitherto preserved the pro-
" testants of that kingdom; who were not able
" without supplies to preserve themselves from the
" strength and power of the rebels; which supplies
" his majesty could not, and the parliament would
" not, send; and therefore, if the protestants there
" should hereafter be oppressed by the rebels, who
" every day procured assistance from abroad, and
" so were like to be more powerful, all the mischiefs
" and misery that must attend them would, before
" God and man, be put to the account of the par-
" liament; which had defrauded them of those
" supplies, which, by his majesty's care, had been
" raised and provided for them; and not to his
" majesty, who had done nothing but what he was
" obliged to do for his own preservation; and if
" he had not sent for those soldiers from Ireland,
" they could not have stayed there without a sup-
" ply of money, clothes, and provisions; which the

" parliament had not yet sent to that part of the " army which remained there, and which could by " no other way have subsisted, but by the benefit " and security of the cessation."

He told them, " that all this unjustifiable way of " proceeding, though it had compelled the king to " yield to a cessation, yet could not prevail with " him to make a peace with the Irish rebels; from " whom he had admitted commissioners to attend " him with propositions to that purpose; but that, " when he found those propositions and demands so " unreasonable, that he could not consent to them " in conscience, and that they were inconsistent " with the security of his protestant subjects there, " he had totally rejected them, and dismissed their " commissioners with severe and sharp animadver- " sions: yet that he had given his lieutenant and " council there authority to continue the cessation " longer, in hope that the rebels there might be re- " duced to better temper; or that his majesty might " be enabled by a happy peace here, which he hoped " this treaty would produce, to chastise their odious " and obstinate rebellion: and if the parliament " would yet give his majesty sufficient caution, that " the war should be vigorously prosecuted there " against the Irish, by sending over strong supplies " of men and money, he would put an end to that " cessation, without declaring it to be void; which " [otherwise] he could not in justice do, and the " doing whereof would be to no purpose."

The commissioners, visibly out of countenance and angry, made no other reply, but " that they " were sorry to find that odious and detestable re- " bellion had received so much grace, as that com-

" missioners from it had been admitted into the " king's presence; and that they wondered there " should be any scruple made of declaring that ces- " sation void, that was entered into expressly against " the letter of an act of parliament." This reply they gave in writing, with many pathetical expressions against the murders and cruelties that had been used in the beginning of that rebellion; which obliged the king's commissioners to a little more sharpness in their returns than they were inclined to; and to tell them, " that they wished it were in " the king's power to punish all rebellion with that " severity that was due to it; but since it was not " so, he must condescend to treaties, and to all " other expedients, which are necessary to reduce " his subjects, who are in rebellion, to return to " their duty and obedience."

The twelve first days were now spent upon the three great heads, in which there was little advance made towards giving satisfaction to either party; for though, in the matter of religion, the king's commissioners had made such condescensions, as would oblige bishops to be more diligent in preaching, and to be themselves present in the administration of the most important parts of their jurisdiction; yet no such reformation was considerable to those who cared for nothing without extirpation; and in neither of the other particulars any ground had been gotten; and they were sensible, that, in the matter of Ireland, the king's defence would weigh down their clamour and calumny. There happened some accidents in this time of the treaty, which made impression on either party; the first was found in the looks of the parliament commis-

sioners, upon the advertisement they received, that sir Lewis Dives, who was governor of a small garrison in Sherborne in Dorsetshire, had from thence, in a night, upon intelligence with the king's governor of Portland castle, surprised Weymouth, a seaport possessed by the parliament; which was like to be attended with great benefit to the king.

But whilst the king's commissioners entertained some hope that this loss might have the more disposed the parliament to a just peace, they received advertisement of a much greater loss sustained by the king, and which was more like to exalt the other side. Colonel Langhorn, and Mitton, two very active officers in the parliament service, about Shropshire and North Wales, by correspondence with some townsmen, and some soldiers in the garrison of Shrewsbury, from whence too many of that garrison were unhappily drawn out, two or three days before, upon some expedition, seized upon that town in the night; and, by the same treachery, likewise entered the castle; where sir Michael Earnly, the governor, had been long sick, and rising, upon the alarm, out of his bed, was killed in his shirt; whilst he behaved himself as well as was possible; and refused quarter; which did not shorten his life many days, he being even at the point of death by a consumption; which kept him from performing all those offices of vigilance he was accustomed to, being a gallant gentleman, who understood the office and duty of a soldier by long experience, and diligent observation. The loss of Shrewsbury was a great blow to the king, and straitened his quarters exceedingly, and broke the secure line of communication with Chester, and

exposed all North Wales, Hereford, and Worcester, to the daily inroads of the enemy: and the news of this recovered the dejected spirits of the parliament commissioners at Uxbridge.

Yet there had been an odd accident which accompanied the enterprise upon Weymouth, which gave them afterwards more trouble. Sir Lewis Dives had, in his march from Sherborne, intercepted a packet of letters sent out of Somersetshire to the parliament; and among those there was a letter from John Pyne, a gentleman well known, and of a fair estate in that country, to colonel Edward Popham, a principal officer of the parliament in their fleets at sea, and of a passionate and virulent temper, of the independent party. The subject of the letter was a bitter invective against the earl of Essex, and all those who advanced the treaty of peace, and a great detestation of the peace, with very indecent expressions against the king himself, and all who adhered to him. This letter had been sent by sir Lewis Dives to one of the secretaries at Oxford, and from him to the commissioners at Uxbridge; who, as soon as they received it, communicated it to some of those commissioners, who they knew desired a peace, and were very great friends to the earl of Essex. The Scots were likewise as much inveighed against as any body else. They to whom this letter was communicated, durst not undertake to appear to know any thing of it; but advised, "that the marquis of Hertford might "send a copy of it to his brother, the earl of Essex, "with such reflections as he thought fit:" which being done accordingly, the earl of Essex, who was yet general, took it so much to heart, that he de-

sired the marquis of Hertford would send him the original; which was presently done; hoping that it would have given some advantage to the earl of Essex, towards whom the parliament yet behaved itself with all imaginable decency and respect.

The conversation that this letter occasioned between some of the commissioners of both sides, who in private used their old freedom, made a great discovery of the faction that was in the parliament: that there were many who desired to have peace, without any alteration in the government, so they might be sure of indemnity and security for what was past; that the Scots would insist upon the whole government of the church, and in all other matters would defer to the king; but that there was another party, that would have no peace upon what conditions soever, who did resolve to change the whole frame of the government in state as well as church; which made a great party in the army: all those of the parliament who desired to remove the earl of Essex from being general of the army, and to make another general, were of that party. There was likewise among the commissioners themselves very little trust and communication; sir Harry Vane, Saint-John, and Prideaux, being, upon the matter, but spies upon the rest; and though most of the rest did heartily desire a peace, even upon any terms, yet none of them had the courage to avow the receding from the most extravagant demand. And there was reason enough to believe, that, if the king had yielded to all that was then proposed, they would likewise have insisted upon all which they had formerly demanded, and upon the delivery up of all those persons, who had faith-

fully served the king, and had been by them always excepted, as persons never to be pardoned.

For though they had assigned those three general heads, of the church, of the militia, and of Ireland, to be first treated upon, which were all plausible and popular arguments, and in which they who most desired peace would insist at least upon many condescensions, yet they had not, in the least degree, declined any other of their propositions; as the exemption of many of the greatest quality, or of the most declared affections to the king, in the three nations of England, Scotland, and Ireland, from pardon; and the making the estates of the rest, under the name of delinquents, liable to pay the charges of the war; in which, or any of the other very unreasonable demands, they had not in their instructions given their commissioners authority in the least particle to recede: they who desired peace, being satisfied that they had prevailed to have a treaty, which they imagined would do all the rest, and that these lesser demands would fall off of themselves, when satisfaction should be given in those important particulars, which more concerned the public; and, on the other side, they who resolved the treaty should be ineffectual, were well content that their commissioners should be instructed only to insist upon those three generals, without power to depart from any one expression, in the propositions concerning those particulars; being satisfied, that in the particular which concerned the church, the Scots would never depart from a tittle; and as sure that the king would never yield to it; and that, in the militia, they who most desired peace, would adhere to that which

most concerned their own security; and in the business of Ireland, besides the opportunity to asperse the king, upon an argument in which the people generally concurred with them, they were safe enough; except the king should absolutely retract and recant all that he had done, and by declaring the cessation void, expose all those who had a hand in it to their censure and judgment; and so dissolve all the authority he had in that kingdom for the future; which they knew he would never do. So that they were safe enough in those three heads of their treaty, without bringing any of their other demands into debate; which would have spent much time, and raised great difference in opinion among them; yet they had those still in reserve, and might reasonably conclude, that if the king satisfied them in the terms of those three propositions, he would never insist upon any of the rest; which could not relate so much to his conscience, or his honour, as the other. Besides, they knew well, that, if, by the king's condescensions, they had full satisfaction in the former three, they who had most passion for peace would, for their own shares in the particular revenge upon those men with whom they were angry enough, and in the preferments, which would be then in their disposal, never divide from them in any thing that remained to be demanded.

One night, late, the earl of Pembroke came to the chancellor of the exchequer's lodging to return him a visit; and sat with him some hours; all his discourse being to persuade him to think it reasonable to consent to all that the parliament had demanded. He told him, "that there was never

" such a pack of knaves and villains, as they who
" now governed in the parliament; who would so
" far prevail, if this treaty were broke off, as to
" remove the earl of Essex; and then they would
" constitute such an army as should force the par-
" liament, as well as the king, to consent to what-
" soever they demanded; which would end in the
" change of the government into that of a common-
" wealth." The chancellor told him, " if he be-
" lieved that, it was high time for the lords to look
" about them, who would be then no less concerned
" than the king." He confessed it, and " that
" they were now sensible, that they had brought
" this mischief upon themselves; and did heartily
" repent it, though too late; and when they were
" in no degree able to prevent the general destruc-
" tion which they foresaw: but if the king would
" be so gracious to them, as to preserve them, by
" consenting to those unreasonable propositions,
" which were made by the parliament, the other
" wicked persons would be disappointed by such
" his concessions; the earl of Essex would still
" keep his power; and they should be able, in a
" short time after the peace concluded, by adhering
" to the king, whom they would never forsake
" hereafter, to recover all for him that he now
" parted with, and to drive these wicked men, who
" would destroy monarchy, out of the kingdom;
" and then his majesty would be greater than
" ever." How extravagant soever this discourse seems to be, the matter of it was the same, which the wisest of the rest, and there were men of very good parts among them, did seriously urge to other of the king's commissioners, with whom they had

the same confidence: so broken they were in their spirits, and so corrupted in their understanding, even when they had their own ruin in their view.

The earl of Northumberland, who was the proudest man alive, could not look upon the destruction of monarchy, and the contempt the nobility was already reduced to, and which must be then improved, with any pleasure: yet the repulse he had formerly received at Oxford, upon his addresses thither, and the fair escape he had made afterwards from the jealousy of the parliament, had wrought so far upon him, that he resolved no more to depend upon the one, or to provoke the other, and was willing to see the king's power and authority so much restrained, that he might not be able to do him any harm.

The earls of Pembroke and Salisbury were so totally without credit or interest in the parliament or country, that it was no matter which way their inclinations or affections disposed them; and their fear of the faction that prevailed was so much greater than their hatred towards them, that though they wished they might rather be destroyed than the king, they had rather the king and his posterity should be destroyed, than that Wilton should be taken from the one of them, or Hatfield from the other; the preservation of both which from any danger, they both believed to be the highest point of prudence and politic circumspection.

The earl of Denbigh had much greater parts, and saw further before him into the desperate designs of that party that had then the power, than either of the other three, and detested those designs as much as any of them; yet the pride of his nature,

not inferior to the proudest, and the conscience of his ingratitude to the king, in some respects superior to theirs who had been most obliged, kept him from being willing to quit the company with whom he had conversed too long. Though he had received from them most signal affronts and indignities, and well knew he should never more be employed by them, yet he thought the king's condition to be utterly desperate, and that he would be at last compelled to yield to worse conditions than were now offered to him. He conferred with so much freedom with one of the king's commissioners, and spent so much time with him in the vacant hours, there having been formerly a great friendship between them, that he drew some jealousy upon himself from some of his companions. With him he lamented his own condition, and acknowledged his disloyalty to the king, with expressions of great compunction; and protested, "that he "would most willingly redeem his transgressions "by any attempt that might serve the king signally, "though he were sure to lose his life in it; but "that to lose himself, without any benefit to the "king, would expose him to all misery; which he "would decline, by not separating from his party." He informed him more fully of the wicked purposes of those who then governed the parliament, than others apprehended or imagined; and had a full prospect of the vile condition himself and all the nobility should be reduced to; yet thought it impossible to prevent it by any activity of their own; and concluded, "that if any conjuncture fell out, "in which, by losing his life, he might preserve "the king, he would embrace the occasion; other-

" wise, he would shift the best he could for him-
" self."

Of the commissioners of the house of commons, though, the three named before being excepted, the rest did in their hearts desire a peace, and upon much honester conditions than they durst own; yet there were not two of them who had entire confidence in each other, or who durst communicate their thoughts together: so that though they could speak their minds freely enough, severally, to those commissioners of the king's side with whom they had former friendship, they would not, in the presence of any of their own companions, use that freedom. The debate, that had been in the house, upon the *self-denying ordinance*, had raised so many jealousies, and discomposed the confidence that had formerly been between many of them, that they knew not what any man intended to do; many who had, from the beginning of the troubles, professed to have most devotion for the earl of Essex, and to abhor all his enemies, had lately seemed to concur in that ordinance, which was contrived principally for his dishonour and destruction; and others, who seemed still to adhere to him, did it with so many cautions, that there could be no confidence of their perseverance.

Hollis, who was the frankest among them in owning his animosity and indignation against all the independent party, and was no otherwise affected to the presbyterians, than as they constituted a party upon which he depended to oppose the other, did foresee that many of those who appeared most resolute to concur with him would, by degrees, fall from him purely for want of courage, in

which he abounded. Whitlock, who, from the beginning, had concurred with them without any inclinations to their persons or their principles, had the same reason still not to separate from them. All his estate was in their quarters, and he had a nature that could not bear or submit to be undone: yet to his friends, who were commissioners for the king, he used his old openness, and professed his detestation of all their proceedings, yet could not leave them. Pierpoint and Crew, who were both men of great fortunes, and had always been of the greatest moderation in their counsels, and most solicitous upon all opportunities for peace, appeared now to have contracted more bitterness and sourness than formerly; and were more reserved towards the king's commissioners than was expected; and in all conferences insisted peremptorily, "that "the king must yield to whatsoever was demanded "in the three demands which had been debated." They all valued themselves "upon having induced "the parliament, against all opposition, to consent "to a treaty; which producing no effect, they "should hereafter have no more credit;" and it plainly appeared, that they had persuaded themselves, that, in the treaty, they should be able to persuade the king's commissioners to concur with them; and that the king would yield upon the very same argument and expectation, that the earl of Pembroke had offered to the chancellor [of the exchequer].

Some of them, who knew how impossible it was to prevail with the commissioners, or, if they could be corrupted so far in their judgments, how much more impossible it would be to persuade the king

to consent to what was so diametrically against his conscience and his honour, and, in truth, against his security, did wish, "that in order to get the "time of the treaty prolonged, some concessions "might be made in the point of the militia, in "order to their security; which being provided for "might probably take off many persons, who, out "of that consideration principally, adhered to those "who they thought were most jealous of it, and "most solicitous for it." And this seemed such an expedient to those to whom they proposed it, that they thought fit to make a debate among all the commissioners; "and if it did produce no other "effect, than the getting more days to the treaty, "and making more divisions in the parliament, "both which they might naturally expect from it, "the benefit was not small that would attend it; "for, as long as the treaty lasted, there could be "no advance made towards new modelling the "army, the delay whereof would give the king "likewise more time to make his preparations for "the field; towards which he was in no forward-"ness." And this consideration prevailed with the commissioners to send their opinion to the king, "that he would give them leave to propose, "when the next day came for the debate of the "point of the militia, that the whole militia of the "kingdom should be settled in such a number of "persons, for seven or eight years, who should be "all sworn to the observation of all the articles "which should be agreed upon in the treaty; after "the expiration of which time, which would be "sufficient to extinguish all jealousies, it should be "restored to the king." And they sent the king a

list of such names, as they wished might be inserted in the proposition, of persons in credit with the parliament, to which his majesty might add the like number of such, of whose fidelity he was most assured.

The earls of Essex, Northumberland, Warwick, and Manchester, with Fairfax and Cromwell, were among those they recommended to be named by the king. With this message they sent two of their own body, who added other reasons, which they conceived might prevail with him; and it was with great difficulty that his majesty was prevailed with to consent that such an overture should be made. But being unwilling to dissent from his commissioners' judgment, and especially in confidence that it would be rejected, and in hope that it would gain time by lengthening the treaty, his majesty was contented, that the commissioners should make such an offer as is mentioned, and name the persons they had proposed of the parliament party; but then he sent a list of such persons as himself thought fit to trust in that affair, and in whom, together with the others, he would have the power of the militia to be vested: and in the list he named the chancellor of the exchequer, who was very much troubled at the honour, and writ very earnestly to the king to exempt him from the envy of such a trust, by leaving out his name, and putting in another of a higher qualification. But by this time, the term assigned for the treaty drawing towards an end, they who had first advised this expedient, had not the same opinion of the success; and had plainly discovered, that the parliament would not consent to add one day more to the

treaty. So the farther prosecution of the overture in that manner was laid aside. For the king's commissioners concluded, "that at this time to "offer any particular names from the king to be "trusted with the militia, was but to expose those "persons to reproach, as some of them were very "ungracious and unpopular; and to give the other "side an excuse for rejecting the offer, upon ex-"ception to their persons." However, that they might see a greater condescension from the king in that point, than he had ever yet been induced to, they offered, "that the militia should be so "settled for the space of seven years, as they had "desired, in such a number of persons as should "be agreed upon; a moiety of which persons "should be nominated by the king, and the other "moiety by the parliament:" which was rejected by them with their usual neglect.

From this time the commissioners, on both sides, grew more reserved, and colder towards each other; insomuch as in the last conferences the answers and replies upon one another were sharper and more reflecting than they had formerly been: and in their conference upon the last day, which held most part of the night, it was evident, either side laboured most to make the other seem to be most in fault. The king's commissioners delivered a paper, which contained a sum of all that had been done in the treaty, and observed, "that after a war "of so many years, entered into, as was pretended, "for the defence and vindication of the laws of the "land, and the liberty of the subject, in a treaty of "twenty days, they had not demanded any one "thing, that, by the law of the land, they had

" the least title to demand; but insisted only on " such particulars as were against law, and the " established government of the kingdom; and " that much more had been offered to them for the " obtaining of peace, than they could with justice " or reason require:" with which they were so offended, that they, for some time, refused to receive the paper, upon pretence, " that the time for " the treaty was expired;" because it was then after twelve of the clock of the night of the twentieth day: but at last they were contented to receive it, finding that it would not be less public, and would more reflect upon them, if they rejected it: and so they parted, a little before the break of day.

The next day, being Sunday, they rested in the town, that they might in the afternoon decently take their leaves of each other; though Monday, according to the letter of their pass, was the last day of their freedom, and at that season of the year their journey to Oxford might require two days, as they had spent two days in coming thither; and the commissioners for the parliament had given them a paper, in which they declared, " that they might safely make use of another day " for their return, of which no advantage should " be taken." But they having on Sunday performed their mutual visits to each other, parted with such a dryness towards each other, as if they scarce hoped to meet again; and the king's commissioners were so unwilling to run any hazard, or to depend upon their words, that they were on the Monday morning so early in their coaches, that they came to Oxford that night, and kissed the king's hand; who received them very graciously;

and thanked them for the pains they had taken. Surely the pains they had taken, with how little success soever, was very great; and they who had been most inured to business, had not in their lives ever undergone so great fatigue for twenty days together, as at that treaty. The commissioners seldom parted, during that whole time, till two or three of the clock in the morning. Besides, they were obliged to sit up later who were to prepare such papers as were directed for the next day, and to write letters to Oxford; so that, if the treaty had continued much longer, it is very probable many of the commissioners must have fallen sick for want of sleep; which some of them were not satisfied with in three or four days after their return to Oxford. Thus ended the treaty of Uxbridge, the particulars whereof were, by the king's command, shortly after published in print, and never contradicted by the parliament.

The king spoke to those he trusted most at that time, with much more melancholy of his own condition, and the state of his affairs, than he had used to do. The loss of Shrewsbury was attended with many ill consequences; and that which had seemed to bring some kind of recompense for it, which was the surprise of Weymouth, proved but a dream; for the enemy had lost but one part of the town, which they, in a short time after, recovered again by the usual negligence of the king's governors. So that his majesty told them, "he "found it absolutely necessary to pursue his former "resolution of separating the prince his son from "himself, that the enemy might not, upon any "success, find them together; which, he said,

" would be ruin to them both; whereas, though he " should fall into their hands whilst his son was at " liberty, they would not dare to do him harm." He seemed to have very reasonable apprehensions, that upon the loss of a battle he might become a prisoner; but he never imagined, that it would enter into their thoughts to take away his life; not that he believed they could be restrained from that impious act by any remorse of conscience, or that they had not wickedness enough to design and execute it: but he believed it against their interest; and would often, in discourse, say, " of what mo- " ment the preservation of his life was to the " rebels; and how much they were concerned to " preserve it, in regard, that if his majesty were " dead, the parliament stood dissolved; so that " there would be an end of their government:" which, though it were true in law, would have little shaken their government, of which they were too long possessed to part with easily.

But this was a speculation of that nature, that nobody had reason to endeavour to change the king's opinion in that particular; and his majesty thought of nothing so much as hastening the prince's journey; and to that purpose commanded those who were appointed to attend him to be ready by a short day, and resolved that his highness should make his journey directly to Bristol, and continue his residence there, till some emergent alteration should make his remove from thence necessary. For whatever discourse was made of raising an army in the west, the king had no purpose to put the prince into the head of any such army; and though Goring had prevailed to be sent;

with a strong party of horse, and some foot, into Hampshire, upon pretence of securing the west from Waller's incursion, and upon some other design; yet the king had not the least purpose, that he should be where the prince was; though he was not himself without that design at that present, as shall be made out anon, and meant by that device to withdraw himself from the command of prince Rupert, which the king did not apprehend. But having no more in his purpose than is said before, he sent the lord Hopton to Bristol to provide a house for his highness, and to put that city into as good a posture of security for the prince's residence as was necessary; nor was there any other strength designed to attend about his highness's person, than one regiment of horse, and one regiment of foot, for his guards, and both under the command of the lord Capel; who was likewise to raise them upon his own credit and interest; there being, at that time, not one man raised of horse or foot, nor any means in view for the payment of them, when they should be raised; nor, indeed, for the support of the prince's family, or his person. In so great a scarcity and poverty was the king himself, and his court at Oxford.

There happened an accident at this time, that reconciled the minds of many to this journey of the prince into the west, and looked like a good omen that it would produce good effects; though it proved afterwards an occasion of much trouble and inconvenience. When the king returned through Somersetshire, after the defeat of the earl of Essex in Cornwall, there had been a petition delivered to him, in the names of the gentry, clergy,

freeholders, and others his majesty's protestant subjects of the county of Somerset, in which they desired, " that his majesty would give them leave " to petition the parliament, that there might be a " treaty for peace; and that they might have " liberty to wait upon his majesty in person in his " march; and that, when they came to a nearer " distance, they might then go before, and deliver " their petition; and if they should not obtain " their so just request, they would then assist his " majesty to get that by the sword, which could be " obtained no other way." And to that purpose, they desired leave " to put themselves in arms, to " attend his majesty in the journey." This petition, how indigested, and impracticable soever in the manner and way proposed, was contrived by some persons of unquestionable fidelity to the king; who thought, that, under this specious title of petitioners for peace, they might draw even that whole populous county to appear for the king; and therefore the king gave them a gracious reception, and liberty to do all that they desired; believing it possible, that he might even from thence recruit his foot, which he most desired. But his majesty's speedy march left that design to be better weighed and digested.

Upon the first fame of the prince's being to visit the west, and to keep his court there, some gentlemen, of the best quality in the west, came to Oxford, as intrusted by the rest to inform his majesty, " that they had now formed the design, " they had formerly presented to him, much better " than it was; and that the four western counties, " Dorset, Somerset, Devon, and Cornwall, had re-

" solved to enter into an association, and to be " joint petitioners to the parliament for peace; " which petition should be sent by very many " thousands of the most substantial freeholders of " the several counties, all who should have money " enough in their purses to defray their charges, " going and returning; and whosoever refused to " join in the petition should be looked upon " as enemies to peace and their country, and " treated as such: so that this address could not " but have great influence upon the parliament, " being under the style of one and all; and could " not but be looked upon as such." They desired the king, " that the prince might be made general " of this association; in order to which, they would " provide for his support according to his dignity; " and, in the first place, take care for the raising a " good guard of horse and foot, for the safety of " his royal person."

Though this design, in the notions thereof, was as wild and unpracticable as the former, yet his majesty thought not fit to discountenance and reject it. It was very vehemently pressed by many persons of quality, in the name of the four western counties, and among those who took it most to heart, sir John Stawel was the chief; a gentleman of one of the largest estates that any man possessed in the west, who had, from the beginning of the parliament, shewed very great affection to the person of the king, and to the government that was settled, both in church and state; and from the beginning of the war had engaged both his own person, and his two sons, in the most active part of it, with singular courage; and had rendered

himself as odious to the parliament, as any man of that condition had done. This gentleman with the assistance and counsel of Mr. Fountain, a lawyer of eminency, and who had been imprisoned, and banished London, for his declared affection to the crown, had first entertained and formed this project in their own thoughts, and then, upon the communication of it with some gentlemen, and more of the substantial farmers and freeholders of the country, found such a general concurrence from them, that they concluded it could not but have good success, and would bring the parliament to be glad of peace. They were both very tenacious of what they had once resolved, and believed all who objected against their undertaking to be averse from peace; so that the king concluded, that he would so far comply with them, as to make the prince general of their association, which he was sure could do no harm; and they were so much delighted with the condescension, that they promised speedily to make provision for the prince's support, and for the raising his guards of horse and foot; and to that purpose made haste to Bristol, that all things might be ready against the prince came thither.

Upon these reasons, the prince had two commissions granted to him; this, to be general of the association, and another, to be general of all the king's forces in England. For when the king declared his nephew prince Rupert to be general, in the place of the earl of Brentford, his highness desired, "that there might be no general in Eng-"land but the prince of Wales, and that he might "receive his commission from him;" which his

majesty took well; and so that commission of generalissimo was likewise given to the prince, when in truth it was resolved he should act no part in either, but remain quiet in Bristol, till the fate of all armies could be better discerned.

The indisposition and melancholy which possessed the court at Oxford, and all the king's party, was preserved from despair only by the wonderful discontents and animosities in the parliament; which kept them from pursuing the advantages they had by united counsels. As soon as the commissioners were returned from Uxbridge, and that a treaty could be now no farther urged, the independent party (for so they were now contented to be called, in opposition to the other, which was styled presbyterian) appeared barefaced, and vigorously pressed on their *self-denying ordinance*, that so they might proceed towards modelling their new army, by putting out the old officers; during the suspension whereof, there was no care for providing for the troops they had, or making recruits, or preparing any of those provisions which would be necessary for taking the field. They were now entered into the month of March, which was used as a strong argument by both parties, the one urging, "from "the season of the year, the necessity of expediting "their resolution for the passing the ordinance, "that the army might be put into a posture of "marching;" the other pressing, "that so great "an alteration ought not to be affected, when "there was so short a time to make it in: that "there would be apparent danger, that the enemy "would find them, without any army at all fit to "take the field;" and therefore desired, "that all

" things might stand as they were till the end of " the next campaign; when, if they saw cause, " they might resume this expedient." The other party were loud against the delay, and said, " that " was the way to make the war last; for managed " as it had been, they should be found at the end " of the next campaign in the same posture they " were now in; whereas they made no doubt but, " if this ordinance was passed, they should proceed " so vigorously, that the next campaign should put " an end to the war."

The debate continued many days in the house of commons, with much passion, and sharp reflections upon things and persons; whilst the house of peers looked on, and attended the resolution below. Of the presbyterian party, which passionately opposed the ordinance, the chief were, Hollis, Stapleton, Glin, Waller, Long, and others, who believed their party much superior in number: as the independent party was led by Nathaniel Fiennes, Vane, Cromwell, Haslerig, Martin, and others, who spoke more and warmer than they that opposed them. Of the house of peers, there was none thought to be of their party but the lord Say; all the rest were supposed to be of the earl of Essex's party; and so, that it was impossible that the ordinance would ever pass in the house of peers, though it should be carried by the commons. But they were in this, as in many other things, disappointed; for many, who had sat silent, and been thought to be of one party, appeared to be of the other. They who thought they could never be secure in any peace, except the king were first at their mercy, and so obliged to accept the conditions they would

give him, were willing to change the hand in carrying on the war; and many, who thought the earl of Essex behaved himself too imperiously, were willing to have the command in one who was more their equal. Many were willing he should be angered and humbled, that himself might be more concerned to advance a peace, which he had not been forward enough to do, whilst he held the supreme command.

When the debate grew ripe, Saint-John, Pierpoint, Whitlock, and Crew, who had been thought to be of the party of the earl of Essex, appeared for passing the ordinance, as the only way to unite their counsels, and to resist the common enemy; whereas, "they discovered by what they heard "abroad, and by the spirit that governed in the "city, that there would be a general dissatisfaction "in the people, if this ordinance were not passed." Then they fell into a high admiration of the earl of Essex, and extolling his great merit, and seemed to fear, "that the war would never be carried on "so happily as it had been under him; or if it "were, that the good success must be still imputed "to his conduct and courage, which had formed "their armies, and taught them to fight." And by this kind of oratory, and professing to decline their own inclinations and wishes, purely for peace and unity, they so far prevailed over those who were still surprised, and led by some craft, that the ordinance was passed in the house of commons, and transmitted to the peers for their consent; where nobody imagined it would ever pass.

After the battle at York, and the earl of Manchester was required to march with his army against

the king, upon the defeat of the earl of Essex in Cornwall, the Scottish army marched northwards, to reduce the little garrisons which still remained in those parts; which was easily done. And thereupon they marched to Newcastle, which, being defended only by the townsmen, and in no degree fortified for a siege, was given up to them, after as good a resistance as could be made in such a place, and by such people. So that having no more to do in those parts, the parliament thought not fit yet to dismiss them to return into their own country, not knowing yet how far their new modelled army would be able to carry on all their designs. And therefore the Scottish army was again advanced as far as York, and was to be applied as there should be occasion.

Hereupon the king resumed the consideration how he might give such a disturbance to Scotland, as might oblige that army to return, to quench the fire in their own country; for all the advance which had been made towards that, in the conferences with the earl of Mountrose, and in the commitment of duke Hamilton, had been discontinued from that time by the king's not being able to give any troops to that earl, by the protection whereof the loyal party of that kingdom might come to his assistance, and discover their affection to his majesty. And though this conjuncture was not more favourable, by any power his majesty had to contribute troops or any other assistance towards such an enterprise, yet the vigorous spirit of the earl of Mountrose had stirred him up to make some attempt, whether he had any help or no. The person whom that earl most hated and contemned was the

marquis of Argyle, who had then the chief government of Scotland; and though he was a man endued with all the faculties of craft and dissimulation that were necessary to bring great designs to effect, and had, in respect of his estate and authority, a very great interest in that kingdom; yet he had no martial qualities, nor the reputation of more courage, than insolent and imperious persons, whilst they meet with no opposition, are used to have.

The earl of Mountrose believed that his getting safely into Scotland was much more difficult than it would be to raise men enough there to control the authority of Argyle. There was at that time at Oxford the earl of Antrim, notorious for nothing, but for having married the dowager of the great duke of Buckingham, within few years after the death of that favourite. By the possession of her ample fortune, he had lived in the court in great expense and some lustre, until his riot had contracted so great a debt, that he was necessitated to leave the kingdom, and to retire to his own fortune in Ireland, (which was very fair,) together with his wife, who gave him great reputation, being a lady, besides her own great extraction and fortune, as heiress to the house of Rutland, and wife and mother to the dukes of Buckingham, of a very great wit and spirit; and made the littleness of her present husband (a handsome man too) well enough received in all places: so that they had lived in Ireland in great splendour, as they might well do, till that rebellion drove the lady again from thence, to find a livelihood out of her own estate in England. And she had upon the queen's first coming

to Oxford, likewise brought herself thither; where she found great respect from all. The earl of Antrim, who was a man of excessive pride and vanity, and of a marvellous weak and narrow understanding, was no sooner without the counsel and company of his wife, than he betook himself to the rebels, with an imagination that his quality and fortune would give him the supreme power over them; which, certainly, he never intended to employ to the prejudice of the king, but desired to appear so considerable, that he might be looked upon as a greater man than the marquis of Ormond; which was so uneasy and torturing an ambition to him, that it led him into several faults and follies. The rebels were glad of his presence, and to have his name known to be among them, but had no confidence in his abilities to advise or command them; but relied much more upon his brother, Alexander Macdonnel, who was fast to their party, and in their most secret counsels.

The earl, according to his natural unsteadiness, did not like his station there, but, by disguise, got himself into the protestant quarters, and from thence into England, and so to Oxford, where his wife then was, and made his presence not unacceptable; the king not having then notice of his having ever been among the Irish rebels; but he pretended to have great credit and power in Ireland to serve the king, and to dispose the Irish to a peace, if he should have any countenance from the king; which his majesty knew him too well to think him capable of. Whether the earl of Antrim had his original extraction in Scotland, or the marquis of Argyle his in Ireland, must be left

to the determination of the bards of the family of the Macdonnels; to the superiority whereof they both pretend; and the earl of Antrim, to much of those lands in the Highlands of Scotland, which were possessed by Argyle: and the greatest part of his estate in Ireland was in that part of Ulster that lies next Scotland, and his dependents of the same language and manner of living with the Highlanders of Scotland. The knowledge of this disposed the earl of Mountrose to make a great acquaintance with him as soon as he came to Oxford, and to consult with him, whether it might not be possible to draw a body of men out of Ireland to be such a foundation for raising forces in Scotland, as might advance the enterprise he had so long in his heart; it being notorious enough that the Highlanders in Scotland had very good affections for the king; and desired nothing more than to free themselves from the hard slavery they had long endured under the tyranny of Argyle. The passage over the sea in those places, between Scotland and Ireland, is so narrow, that the people often make their markets in one and the other in the space of few hours; and the hardiness of both people is such, that they have no delight in the superfluity of diet or clothing, or the great commodity of lodging; and were very fit to constitute an army that was not to depend upon any supplies of money, or arms, or victual, but what they could easily provide for themselves, by the dexterity that is universally practised in those parts.

The earl of Antrim, who was naturally a great undertaker, and desired nothing so much, as that the king should believe him to be a man of interest

and power in Ireland, was infinitely exalted, when he discovered by the earl of Mountrose, that he was thought to have credit enough in that part of Ireland to perform a service for the king, which he never before entertained a thought of. So that he presently undertook to the earl of Mountrose, " that, if the king would grant him a commission, " he would raise an army in Ireland, and transport " it into Scotland; and would himself be in the " head of it; by means whereof he believed all the " clan of the Macdonnels in the Highlands of " Scotland, might be persuaded to follow him." When the earl of Mountrose had formed such a reasonable undertaking, as he believed the earl of Antrim might in truth be able to comply with, he acquainted the lord Digby with it, who was a friend to all difficult designs, and desired him " to " propose it to the king, and to let his majesty " know, that he was so confident of the earl of " Antrim's being able to perform what should be " necessary, (for he would be very well content, if " he would send over a body but of two thousand " men into Scotland, which he well knew he could " easily do,) that he would himself be in the High- " lands to receive them, and run his fortune with " them, if his majesty would give him leave to " gather up such a number of his countrymen " about Oxford, as would be willing to accompany " him; and with those he would make his way " thither; and that, if no time were lost in prose- " cuting this design, he did hope, that by the time " the Scottish army in England should be ready to " take the field, they should receive such an alarm

" from their own country, as should hinder their " advance."

Upon this overture, the king conferred with the two earls together; and finding the earl of Antrim forward to undertake the raising as many men as should be desired, if he might have the king's commission to that purpose; and knowing well, that he had, in that part of the kingdom, interest enough to do it; and the earl of Mountrose as confidently assuring his majesty, " that with two " thousand men landed in the Highlands, he would " quickly raise an army, with which he could dis- " quiet that kingdom;" and the design being more probable than any other that could be proposed to the same purpose, his majesty resolved to encourage it all he could, that is, to give it countenance; for he had neither money, nor arms, nor ammunition, to contribute to it in any degree. The great objection that appeared at the first entrance into it was, " that though the earl of Antrim had power " in Ulster, and among the Roman Catholics, he " was very odious to the protestants, and obnoxious " to the state at Dublin, many things being disco- " vered against him of his correspondence with the " rebels, which were not known when he came " into England." But that which gave most umbrage (for nobody suspected his conjunction with the rebels) was his declared " malice to the lord " lieutenant, the marquis of Ormond, and the con- " tempt the marquis had of him, who would there- " fore undervalue any proposition should be made " by him, who was of so notable a levity and in- " constancy, that he did not use to intend the

" same thing long. There could be no trusting " him with any commission independent upon the " marquis of Ormond, or to do any thing in " Ireland without his privity, and such a limitation " would by no means be grateful to the other. " Besides the benefit that Scotland would receive " by the carrying away any body of men out of " Ulster, it would be a great lessening and abate- " ment of the strength of the Irish rebels, who " had the command over those parts; but then if " the earl of Antrim, under any authority from the " king, should indiscreetly behave himself, (as no " man who loved him best had any confidence in " his discretion,) all the reproaches cast upon his " majesty, of his countenancing those rebels, would " receive the greatest confirmation imaginable."

The foresight of these difficulties gave life to an intrigue in the court, which for some time had been eclipsed. Daniel O'Neile (who was in subtilty and understanding much superior to the whole nation of the old Irish) had long laboured to be of the bedchamber to the king. He was very well known in the court, having spent many years between that and the Low Countries, the winter season in the one, and the summer always in the army in the other; which was as good an education towards advancement in the world as that age knew. He had a fair reputation in both climates, having a competent fortune of his own to support himself without dependence or beholdingness, and a natural insinuation and address, which made him acceptable in the best company. He was a great observer and discerner of men's natures and humours, and was very dexterous in com-

pliance where he found it useful. As soon as the first troubles began in Scotland, he had, with the first, the command of a troop of horse; to which he was by all men held very equal, having had good experience in the most active armies of that time, and a courage very notorious. And though his inclinations were naturally to ease and luxury, his industry was indefatigable, when his honour required it, or his particular interest, which he was never without, and to which he was very indulgent, made it necessary or convenient.

In the second troubles in Scotland he had a greater command, and some part in most of the intrigues of the court, and was in great confidence with those who most designed the destruction of the earl of Strafford; against whom he had contracted some prejudice in the behalf of his nation: yet when the parliament grew too imperious, he entered very frankly into those new designs, which were contrived at court, with less circumspection than both the season and the weight of the affair required. And in this combination, in which men were most concerned for themselves, and to receive good recompense for the adventures they made, he had either been promised, or at least encouraged by the queen, to hope to be made groom of the bedchamber, when a vacancy should appear. When the civil war begun, he, being then in the Low Countries, having made an escape out of the Tower, where he stood committed by the parliament upon a charge of high treason, chose rather to be lieutenant colonel of horse to prince Rupert, than the name of a greater officer, which he might well have pretended to; presuming that, by his dex-

terity, he should have such an interest in that young prince, as might make his relation to him superior to those who had greater titles. He had the misfortune, at the first coming of the prince, to have credit with him to make some impressions and prejudices, which he would have been glad afterwards to have removed, when he saw others had credit likewise to build upon those foundations, which he hoped to have had the sole authority to have supervised and directed. When he saw some of his fraternity promoted to offices and honours, who had not ventured or suffered more than he, (for if he had not made his escape out of the Tower very dexterously in a lady's dress, he had been in manifest danger of his life,) and whose pretences were not better founded, than upon the promises made at the same time, when he had promised himself to be of the bedchamber, he now pressed likewise to be admitted into that attendance; and the queen had been very solicitous with the king on his behalf, being conscious to herself, that he had been encouraged to hope it. But the king could by no means be prevailed with to receive him, having contracted a prejudice against him with reference to the earl of Strafford, or upon some other reason, which could not be removed by all his friends, or by the queen herself; who therefore bid him expect a better conjuncture; which O'Neile took very heavily; and the more, because his condition in the army was less pleasant to him, by prince Rupert's withdrawing his graces from him.

The design of uniting the earls of Mountrose

and Antrim, which was yet wholly managed with the king by the lord Digby, who was likewise of intimate friendship with O'Neile, gave him opportunity to set this pretence again on foot. It was universally known that O'Neile, whether by alliance, or friendship, or long acquaintance, had more power with the earl of Antrim than any man; and that by the ascendant he had in his understanding, and the dexterity of his nature, in which he was superior to most men, he could persuade him very much; and it was as notorious, that the marquis of Ormond loved O'Neile very well, and had much esteem for him. Upon this ground the lord Digby told the king, "that he had thought of an "expedient, which he did believe might relieve "him in the perplexities he sustained concerning "the conduct of the earl of Antrim;" and then proposed "the sending O'Neile with him; who "should first dissuade him from affecting to have "any commission himself to act in Ireland; and "then incline him to depend upon the assistance "and authority of the marquis of Ormond; who "should be required by the king to contribute all "he could for the making those levies of men, and "for impressing of ships, and other vessels, for "their transportation into the Highlands; and "then that he should go over himself with the "earl, and stay with him during his abode in "Dublin; by which he would preserve good intel-"ligence between him and the marquis of Or-"mond; and dispose the marquis of Ormond to "gratify him in all things that might concern so "important a service; which, besides the letters

" he should carry with him from the king, his " own credit with the marquis, and his singular " address, would easily bring to pass."

This proposition was very agreeable to the king, who knew O'Neile was very equal to this function; and the lord Digby did not in the least insinuate any design for O'Neile's advantage in the service, which would have diverted the negociation: thereupon his majesty himself spoke to him of the whole design, the lord Digby desiring he would do so, pretending that he had not communicated any part of it to him, being not sure of his majesty's approbation. He received it as a thing he had never thought of; and when the king asked him, " whether he thought the earl had interest enough " in those parts of Ireland to levy and transport " a body of men into the Highlands?" he answered readily, " that he knew well, that there " were so many there, where the earl's estate lay, " who depended absolutely upon him, that there " would be men enough ready to go whither, or " do what he required them: and that the men " were hardy and stout for any service: but the " drawing a body of them together, and transport- " ing them, would require, he doubted, more power " than the earl himself had, or was master of. He " said, there were two objections in view, and a " third, that he was not willing for many reasons " to make. The first was, that nothing of that " nature could be done without the authority and " power of the marquis of Ormond, which, no " doubt, would be applied to any purpose his " majesty should direct; yet that the earl of " Antrim had behaved himself so indiscreetly

" towards the marquis, and so unhandsomely dis-
" obliged him, that it could not but be the severest
" command his majesty could lay upon the mar-
" quis, to enter into any kind of conjunction or
" conversation with that earl. The second was,
" that, though the earl's interest could make as
" many men as he desired to enter into any action
" or engagement he would prescribe, he much
" doubted the Irish commander in chief, who had
" the military power of those parts, would hardly
" permit a body of those men, which they reck-
" oned their best soldiers, to be transported; and
" thereby their own strength to be lessened;"
which was an objection of weight, and not men-
tioned before to the king, nor considered by him.
He said " he was unwilling to make another objec-
" tion, which reflected upon a person so dear to
" him, and for whom he would at any time lay
" down his life; which was, that he much feared
" the earl of Antrim had not steadiness of mind
" enough to go through with such an undertaking,
" which otherwise would be as easy as honour-
" able."

The king, well satisfied with the discourse he made, told him, " that he was not himself without
" the same apprehensions he had, and knew but
" one way to secure it, which was, if he would
" undertake the journey with him, by which all his
" fears would be composed; his counsel would
" govern the earl in all things, and his credit with
" the marquis of Ormond, which should be im-
" proved by his majesty's recommendation, would
" prevent any prejudice in him towards the earl."
The king added, " that the service itself was of

" so vast importance, that it might preserve his " crown, and therefore his conducting it, without " which he saw little hope of success, would be a " matter of great merit, and could not be unre- " warded." O'Neile seemed wonderfully surprised with the proposition, and in some disorder (which he could handsomely put on when he would) said, " that he would never disobey any command " his majesty would positively lay upon him: but " that he should look upon it as the greatest mis- " fortune that could befall him, to receive such a " command, as would deprive him of attending " upon his majesty in the next campaign, where " he was sure there must be a battle; when " he had rather lose his life than be absent." Then he said, " though the earl of Antrim was his " kinsman and his friend, and one, who, he thought, " loved him better than he did any other man, yet " he was the last man in England with whom he " would be willing to join in any enterprise;" mentioning his pride, and levity, and weakness, and many infirmities, which made it appear more requisite, that a wiser man should have the application of his interest; which he knew must be himself. The king renewed his desire to him to undertake the service, as the greatest he could perform for him; and commanded him to confer with the lord Digby, who should inform him of all particulars, and should find the best way to make the earl of Antrim to communicate the affair to him, and to wish his assistance; which was easily brought to pass; nor was there any thing relating to it that the lord Digby had not before imparted to him; though the king suspected it not.

The lord Digby had now brought the business to the state he wished; and, within two or three days, told the king "how glad the earl of Antrim was, "that he had leave to communicate the matter "with O'Neile; and desired nothing more than "that his majesty would command him to go over "with him; which was an excellent point gained, "wherein he had himself chosen the person who "was only fit to be with him, whereas he might "have been jealous, if he had been first recom-"mended to him. The earl had, upon the first "mention of him, taken notice of the difficulty he "might find to draw his men out of the Irish "quarters, by the opposition of those who com-"manded there in chief: but, he said, if the king "would make O'Neile go with him, all that diffi-"culty would be removed; for Owen O'Neile, who "was uncle to Daniel, was the general of all the "Irish in Ulster, and incomparably the best soldier, "and the wisest man that was among the Irish "rebels, having long served the king of Spain in "Flanders in very eminent command; and the "earl said, that he was sure Daniel had that credit "with his uncle, that he would not refuse, at his "request, to connive at what was necessary for the "earl to do; which was all he desired."

The lord Digby left not this circumstance, which he pretended never to have thought of before, unobserved, to advance the counsel he had given for employing O'Neile; whom he took occasion then to magnify again; and told the king, "that he had "already convinced the earl of Antrim of the folly "of desiring any other commission than what the "marquis of Ormond should find necessary to give

" him; and how impossible it was for him to have
" any success in that design, without the cheerful
" concurrence and friendship of the marquis: which
" the earl was now brought to confess, and so-
" lemnly promised to do all he should be advised,
" to compass it." But after all this, he lamented
" his obstinate aversion to undertake the journey,
" for many reasons; and had obliged him, under
" all the obligations of the friendship that was be-
" tween them, that he would prevail with his ma-
" jesty, that he might not be absent from his
" charge in the army, in a season when there must
" be so much action, and when his majesty's per-
" son, whom he so dearly loved, must be in so
" great danger; and that he had told him freely,
" that he could not honestly move his majesty to
" that purpose, whom he knew to be so possessed
" of the necessity of his going into Ireland with
" the earl, that he should despair of the whole en-
" terprise, which was the most hopeful he had in
" his view, if he did not cheerfully submit to act
" his part towards it: but that notwithstanding all
" he had said, by which he had shut out all farther
" importunity towards himself, his majesty must
" expect to be very much struggled with; and that
" O'Neile would lay himself at his feet, and get all
" his friends to join with him in a supplication for
" his majesty's pardon; and that there was no
" more to be done, but that his majesty, with some
" warmth, should command him to desist from
" farther importunity, and to comply with what he
" should expect from him; which, he said, he knew
" would silence all farther opposition: for that
" O'Neile had that entire resignation to his ma-

" jesty's pleasure, that he would rather die than " offend him." Upon which, and to cut off all farther mediation and interposition, the king presently sent for him, and graciously conjured him, with as much passion as he could shew, " to give " over all hope of excuse, and to provide for his " journey within three or four days."

All things being thus disposed, and the king expecting every day that the earl and O'Neile would take their leaves, the lord Digby came to him, and said, " Mr. O'Neile had an humble suit to his ma- " jesty at parting; which to him did not seem un- " reasonable, and therefore he hoped his majesty " would raise the spirits of the poor man, since he " did believe in his conscience, that he desired it " more for the advancement of his majesty's service, " than to satisfy his own ambition." He put him in mind of the long " pretence he had to be groom " of his bedchamber, for the which he could not " choose but say, that he had the queen's promise, " at the same time when Percy and Wilmot had " the like for their honours, which they had since " received the accomplishment of: that his ma- " jesty had not yet rejected the suit, but only de- " ferred the granting it; not without giving him " leave in due time to hope it: that there could " not be so proper a season for his majesty to con- " fer this grace: that Mr. O'Neile was without a " rival, and, in the eyes of all men, equal to his " pretence; and so no man could be offended at " the success: that he was now upon an employ- " ment of great trust, chosen by his majesty as the " only person who could bring an enterprise of that " vast expectation to a good end, by his conduct

" and dexterity: that it must be a journey of great
" expense, besides the danger or hazard of it; yet
" he asked no money, because he knew there was
" none to be had; he begged only that he might
" depart with such a character, and testimony of
" his majesty's favour and good opinion, that he
" might be thereby the better qualified to perform
" the trust that was reposed in him: that the con-
" ferring this honour upon him, at this time, would
" increase the credit he had with the earl of An-
" trim, at least confirm his unconstant nature in an
" absolute confidence in him: it would make him
" more considerable to the marquis of Ormond,
" and the council there, with whom he might have
" occasion often to confer about his majesty's ser-
" vice; but, above all, it would give him that au-
" thority over his countrymen, and would be such
" an obligation upon the whole Irish nation, (there
" having never yet been any Irishman admitted to
" a place so near the person of the king,) that it
" might produce unexpected effects, and could not
" fail of disposing Owen O'Neile, the general, to
" hearken to any thing his nephew should ask of
" him."

How much reason soever this discourse carried with it, with all the insinuations a very powerful speaker could add to it in the delivery, the lord Digby found an aversion and weariness in the king all the time he was speaking; and therefore, as his last effort, and with a countenance as if he thought his majesty much in the wrong, he concluded,
" that he much doubted his majesty would too late
" repent his aversion in this particular; and that
" men ought not to be sent upon such errands with

" the sharp sense of any disobligation: that if his " majesty pleased, he might settle this affair in such " a manner as O'Neile might go away very well " pleased, and his majesty enjoy the greatest part " of his resolution: that O'Neile should not be yet " in so near an attendance about his person: that " the employment was full of hazard, however " would require a great expense of time: that he " was a man of that nature as would not leave a " business half done, and would be ashamed to see " his majesty's face, before there were some very " considerable effect of his activity and industry; " and considering what was to be done in Ireland, " and the posture of affairs in England, it might " be a very long time before O'Neile might find " himself again in the king's presence, to enter " upon his office in the bedchamber;" and therefore proposed, " that the hour he was to leave " Oxford he might be sworn groom of the bed- " chamber; by which he should depart only with a " title, the effect whereof he should not be pos- " sessed of, before he had very well deserved it, " and returned again to his majesty's presence; " which must take up much time, and possibly " might require more than the other had to live." This last prevailed more than all the rest, and the imagination that the other might be well satisfied with a place he should never enjoy, made his majesty consent, that, in the last article of time, he should be sworn before his departure; with which the other was well contented, making little doubt but that he should be able to despatch that part of the business to which he was incumbent, in so short a time, as he might return to his attendance

in the bedchamber (where he longed to be) sooner than the king expected; which fell out accordingly, for he was again with his majesty before the battle of Naseby, in the summer following.

Whilst this intrigue was carrying on for Mr. O'Neile, there was another, as unacceptable, set on foot on the behalf of the earl of Antrim; for whose person the king had as little regard or kindness, as for any man of his rank. The duchess of Buckingham his wife was now in Oxford, whom the king always heard with favour; his majesty retaining a most gracious memory of her former husband, whom he thought she had forgotten too soon. This lady, being of a great wit and spirit, when she found that the king now thought her husband good for somewhat, which he had never before done, was resolved he should carry with him some testimony of the king's esteem; which she thought would be at last some justification of the affection she had manifested for him. She told the king, "that her husband was so eclipsed in Ireland, by "the no-countenance his majesty had ever shewed "towards him, and by his preferring some who "were his equals to degrees and trusts above him, "and by raising others, who were in all respects "much inferior to him, to the same title with him, "and to authority above him, that she believed he "had not credit and interest enough to do the service he desired to do: that, in that country, the "lords and greatest men had reputation over their "tenants and vassals, as they were known to have "grace from the king; and when they were known "to be without that, they had no more power than "to exact their own just services." She lamented

" the misfortune of her husband, which she had " the more reason to do, because it proceeded from " her; and that, whereas he had reason to have " expected, that, by his marriage with her, he " might have been advanced in the court, and in " his majesty's favour, he had found so little bene- " fit from thence, that he might well believe, as " she did, that he suffered for it; otherwise, it " would not have been possible for a person of the " earl of Antrim's estate and interest, and so well " qualified, as she had reason to believe him to be " in all respects, after the expense of so much mo- " ney as he spent in attendance upon the court, " to be without any mark or evidence of his ma- " jesty's favour; and to return now again in the " same forlorn condition into Ireland, would but " give his enemies more encouragement to insult " over him, and to cross any designs he had to " advance his majesty's service." In conclusion she desired, " that the king would make her hus- " band a marquis;" without which she did as good as declare, that he should not undertake that employment. Though his majesty was neither pleased with the matter nor the manner, he did not discern so great an inconvenience in the gratifying him, as might weigh down the benefit he expected with reference to Scotland; which the earl of Mountrose every day, with great earnestness, put him in mind of. Thereupon, he gave order for a warrant to make the earl of Antrim a marquis.

And so he and O'Neile, being well pleased, begun their journey for Ireland; and at the same time the earl of Mountrose took his leave of the king with several gentlemen, as if they meant

to make their way together into Scotland, which was looked upon as a very desperate attempt, the king's extending at that time no farther northward than Worcester, all between that and Scotland being possessed by the parliament and the Scots' army. But the earl of Mountrose, after he had continued his journey two or three days in that equipage, which he knew could be no secret, and that it would draw the enemy's troops together for the guard of all passes to meet with him, was found missing one morning by his company; who, after some stay and inquiry, returned back to Oxford, whilst that noble person, with incredible address and fatigue, had not only quitted his company and his servants, but his horse also, and found a safe passage, for the most part, on foot, through all the enemy's quarters, till he came to the very borders: from whence, by the assistance of friends whom he trusted, he found himself secure in the Highlands, where he lay quiet, without undertaking any action, until the marquis of Antrim, by the countenance and assistance of the marquis of Ormond, did make good so much of his undertaking, that he sent over his kinsman Alexander Macdonnel, a stout and an active officer, (whom they called by an Irish appellation Calkito,) with a regiment of fifteen hundred soldiers; who landed in the Highlands in Scotland, at or near the place that had been agreed on, and where the earl of Mountrose was ready to receive them; which he did with great joy; and quickly published his commission of being general for the king over all that kingdom. With this handful of men, brought together with those circumstances remembered, he brought in so

many of his own countrymen to join with him, as were strong enough to arm themselves at the charge of their enemies; whom they first defeated; and every day increasing in power, till he fought and prevailed in so many several battles, that he made himself, upon the matter, master of that kingdom; and did all those stupendous acts, which deservedly are the subject of a history by itself, excellently written in Latin by a learned prelate of that nation. The preamble to it was not improper for this relation, being made up of many secret passages which were not known to many, and in which the artifices of court were very notable, and as mysterious as the motions in that sphere use to be. There will be hereafter occasion, before the conclusion of this discourse, to mention that noble lord again, and his zeal for the crown, before he came to his sad catastrophe.

The king found, that, notwithstanding all the divisions in the parliament, and the factions in the city, there would be an army ready to march against him before he could put himself into a posture ready to receive it; and was therefore the more impatient that the prince should leave Oxford, and begin his journey to Bristol; which he did within a fortnight after the expiration of the treaty at Uxbridge. And since the king did at that time within himself (for publicly he was contented that it should be otherwise believed) resolve that the prince should only keep his court in the west, that they might be separated from each other, without engaging himself in any martial action, or being so much as present in any army, it had been very happy, and, to discerning men, seemed then a thing

desirable, if his majesty had removed his court into the west too, either to Bristol, or, which it may be had been better, to Exeter. For since Reading and Abingdon were both possessed by the parliament, and thereby Oxford become the head quarter, it was not so fit that the court should remain there; which, by the multitude of ladies, and persons of quality, who resided there, would not probably endure such an attack of the enemy, as the situation of the place, and the good fortifications which enclosed it, might very well bear. Nor would the enemy have sat down before it, till they had done their business in all other places, if they had not presumed, that the inhabitants within would not be willing to submit to any notable distress. And if, at this time, a good garrison had only been left there, and all the court, and persons of quality, removed into the west with the prince, it would probably have been a means speedily to have reduced to the king's obedience those small garrisons which stood out; and the king himself might, by the spring, have been able to have carried a good recruit of men to his army, and might likewise have made Oxford the place of rendezvous, at the time when it should be fit for him to take the field. But the truth is, not only the ladies, who were very powerful in such consultations of state, but very few of the rest, of what degree or quality soever, who had excellent accommodations in the colleges, which they could not have found any where else, would, without extreme murmuring, have been content to have changed their quarters. Besides, the king had that royal affection for the university, that he thought it well deserved the honour of his own

presence; and always resolved, that it should be never so exposed to the extremity of war, as to fall into those barbarous hands, without making all necessary conditions for the preservation of so venerable a place from rapine, sacrilege, and destruction.

And thus that consideration of removing the court from thence was only secretly entered upon, and laid aside, without making it the subject of any public debate: and since the other could not have been effected, it had been well if the whole council which was assigned to attend the prince, had been obliged to have performed that service. But both the duke of Richmond and the earl of Southampton, men of great reputation and authority, excused themselves to the king, for not submitting to that his command, and for desiring to continue still about his person; the one thinking it some diminution to his greatness to be at any distance from his majesty, to whom he had adhered with that signal fidelity and affection, when so many had deserted him; the other being newly married, and engaged in a family, which he could not, without infinite inconveniences, have left behind him; nor without more have carried with him. Nor was the king difficult in admitting their excuses, having named them at first to obviate some jealousies, which were like to be entertained upon the first discourse of sending the prince into the west, than that he believed they would be willing to be engaged in the service. However, it was easy to be foreseen, that, upon any ill accidents, which were like enough to fall out, they who were still obliged to that duty, would not have reputation enough to exact

that general submission and obedience, which ought to be paid to the commands of the prince; and of which there was shortly after too manifest evidence.

There was an act of divine justice about this time executed by those at Westminster, which ought not to be forgotten in the relation of the acts of this year; and which ought to have caused very useful reflections to be made by many who were equally engaged; and some of whom afterwards did undergo the same fate. There hath been often mention before of sir John Hotham, who shut the gates of Hull against the king, and refused to give him entrance into that town, when he came thither attended only by his own servants, before the beginning of the war: and was, in truth, the immediate cause of the war. It was the more wonderful, that a person of a full and ample fortune, who was not disturbed by any fancies in religion, had unquestioned duty to the crown, and reverence for the government both of church and state, should so foolishly expose himself and his family, of great antiquity, to comply with the humours of those men, whose persons he did not much esteem, and whose designs he perfectly detested. But as his particular animosity against the earl of Strafford first engaged him in that company, so his vanity and ambition, and the concessions the king had made to their unreasonable demands, made him concur farther with them than his own judgment disposed him to. He had taken upon him the government of Hull, without any apprehension or imagination that it would ever make him an accessary to rebellion; but believed,

that, when the king and parliament should be reconciled, the eminence of that charge would promote him to some of those rewards and honours, which that party resolved to divide among themselves. When he found himself more dangerously and desperately embarked than he ever intended to be, he bethought himself of all possible ways to disentangle himself, and to wind himself out of the labyrinth he was in. His comportment towards the lord Digby, and Ashburnham, and his inclinations at that time, have been mentioned before at large; and from that time, the entire confidence the parliament had in his son, and the vigilance and jealousy that he was known to have towards his father, was that alone that preserved him longer in the government. Besides that they had so constituted the garrison, that they knew it could never be in the father's power to do them hurt. But, after this, when they discovered some alteration in the son's behaviour, and that the pride and stubbornness of his nature would not suffer him to submit to the command of the lord Fairfax, and that superiority over both his father and him, with which the parliament had invested that lord, and had some inkling of secret messages between the marquis of Newcastle and young Hotham, they caused both father and son to be suddenly seized upon, and sent up prisoners to the parliament; which immediately committed them to the Tower, upon a charge of high treason.

Though they had evidence enough against them, yet they had so many friends in both houses of parliament, and some of that interest in the army, that

they were preserved from farther prosecution, and remained for above the space of a year prisoners in the Tower without being brought to any trial; so that they believed their punishment to be at the highest. But when that party prevailed that resolved to new model the army, and to make as many examples of their rigour and severity as might terrify all men from falling from them, they called importunately, that the two Hothams might be tried by a court of war, for their treachery and treason; and they who had hitherto preserved them had now lost their interest; so that they were both brought to their trial, about the time of the treaty of Uxbridge, and both condemned to lose their heads; the principal charge against the father being, his having dismissed the lord Digby; and a letter being produced, by the treachery of a servant, that the son had sent to the marquis of Newcastle. The vile artifices which were used both before and after their trial were so barbarous and inhuman, as have been rarely practised among Christians. It was declared to them, or at least insinuated by Hugh Peters, who was the chaplain sent to them to prepare them to die, that there was no purpose to take both their lives, but that the death of one of them should suffice; which put either of them to use all the inventions and devices he could to save himself; and so the father aggravated the faults of the son, and the son as carefully inveighed against the father, as a man that hated the parliament and all their proceedings, and either of them furnished Mr. Peters (upon whose credit and mediation they both depended) with arguments against the other.

The father was first condemned to suffer upon a

day appointed, and the son afterwards to be executed in like manner the day following: the night before, or the very morning, that sir John Hotham was to die, a reprieve was sent from the house of peers to suspend his execution for three days. The commons were highly incensed at this presumption in the lords; and, to prevent the like mischief for the future, they made an order "to all mayors, she-"riffs, bailiffs, and other ministers of justice, that "no reprieve should be granted, or allowed for any "person against whom the sentence of death was "pronounced, except the same had passed, and had "the consent of both houses of parliament; and "that if it passed only by the house of peers, it "should be looked upon as invalid and void, and "execution should not be thereupon forborne, or "suspended." By this accident the son was brought to his execution before his father, upon the day on which he was sentenced to suffer; who died with courage, and reproaching "the ingratitude of the "parliament, and their continuance of the war;" concluded, "that, as to them, he was very innocent, "and had never been guilty of treason." The father was brought to the scaffold the next day: for the house of commons, to shew their prerogative over the lords, sent an order to the lieutenant of the Tower, that he should cause him to be executed that very day, which was two days before the reprieve granted by the house of peers was expired. Whether he had yet some promise from Peters, that he should only be shewed to the people, and so returned safe again to the Tower, which was then generally reported and believed, or whether he was broken with despair, (which is more probable,) when

he saw that his enemies prevailed so far, that he could not be permitted to live those two days which the peers had granted him, certain it is that the poor man appeared so dispirited, that he scarce spoke one word after he came upon the scaffold, and suffered his ungodly confessor Peters to tell the people, "that he had revealed himself to him, and "confessed his offences against the parliament;" and so he committed his head to the block. This was the woful tragedy of these two unhappy gentlemen; in which there were so many circumstances of an unusual nature, that the immediate hand of Almighty God could not but appear in it to all men who knew their natures, humours, and transactions.

Since the last office of a general, with reference to the king's quarters, which the earl of Essex performed before he found it necessary to surrender his commission to the parliament, was done before the end of this year, it will be proper in this place to mention it, both in respect of the nature of the thing itself, and the circumstances with which it was conducted, it being a letter signed by the earl of Essex, and sent by a trumpet to prince Rupert, but penned by a committee of parliament, and perused by both houses before it was signed by their general; who used, in all despatches made by himself, to observe all decency in the forms. It was a very insolent letter, and upon a very insolent occasion. The parliament had, some months before, made an ordinance against giving quarter to any of the Irish nation which should be taken prisoners, either at sea or land; which was not taken notice of, or indeed known to the king, till long after;

though the earl of Warwick, and the officers under him at sea, had, as often as he met with any Irish frigates, or such freebooters as sailed under their commission, taken all the seamen who became prisoners to them of that nation, and bound them back to back, and thrown them overboard into the sea, without distinction of their condition, if they were Irish. And in this barbarous manner very many poor men perished daily; of which, when it was generally known, the king said nothing, because none of those persons were in his majesty's service; and how barbarous soever the proceedings were, his majesty could not complain of it, without undergoing the reproach of being concerned on the behalf and in favour of the rebels of Ireland.

But there had been lately, in some service at land, some prisoners taken of the king's troops, and upon pretence that they were Irishmen, as many as they thought to be of that nation were all hanged, to the number of ten or twelve. Whereupon prince Rupert, having about the time when he heard of that barbarity, taken an equal number of the parliament soldiers, caused them likewise to be hanged upon the next tree; which the parliament declared to be an act of great injustice and cruelty; and appointed the earl of Essex to expostulate with prince Rupert, in the letter they had caused to be penned for him very rudely, and to send a copy of their ordinance enclosed in the said letter, with expressions full of reproach for his "presumption in mak-
"ing an ordinance of theirs the argument to justify
"an action of so much inhumanity;" which was the first knowledge the king had of any such decla-

ration, with reference to the war in England; nor had there been, from the beginning of it, any such example made. Prince Rupert returned such an answer as was reasonable, and with a sharpness equal to the provocation, and sent it to the earl of Essex; who, the day before he received it, had given up his commission, but sent it immediately to the two houses, who were exceedingly enraged at it; some of them saying, "that they wondered it "was so long on the way, for that certainly it had "been prepared at Uxbridge."

It was upon Wednesday the fourth [fifth] of March, that the prince parted from the king his father, and, about a week after, came to Bristol; where he was now to act a part by himself, as the affairs should require, or rather where he was to sit still without acting any thing; the end being, as was said before, only that the king and the prince might not be exposed at the same time to the same danger; without any purpose that he should raise any more strength than was necessary to the security of his own person, or that indeed he should move farther westward than that city. His highness had not been there above two or three days, when letters were intercepted, that discovered a design of Waller, who had passed by the lord Goring, and put relief into Taunton, and hoped to have surprised Bristol in his return; whereupon two or three of his correspondents fled out of the city, and the rest were so exasperated with the discovery, that they readily consented to any thing that was proposed. So the lord Hopton put all things into so good a posture, that there was no

farther cause to apprehend Waller; and he himself was required to return to London, to deliver up his commission upon the self-denying ordinance.

Thus ended the year 1644, which shall conclude this book.

**THE END OF THE EIGHTH BOOK.**

# THE HISTORY OF THE REBELLION, &c.

## BOOK IX.

WE are now entering upon a time, the representation and description whereof must be the most unpleasant and ungrateful to the reader, in respect of the subject matter of it; which must consist of no less weakness and folly on the one side, than of malice and wickedness on the other; and as unagreeable and difficult to the writer, in regard that he shall please very few who acted then upon the stage of business, but that he must give as severe characters of the persons, and severely censure the actions of many, who wished very well, and had not the least thought of disloyalty or infidelity, as well as of those, who, with the most deliberate impiety, prosecuted their design to ruin and destroy the crown: a time, in which the whole stock of affection, loyalty, and courage, which at first alone engaged men in the quarrel, seemed to be quite spent, and to be succeeded by negligence, laziness, inadvertency, and dejection of spirit, con-

trary to the natural temper, vivacity, and constancy of the nation: and in which they who pretended most public-heartedness, and did really wish the king all the greatness he desired to preserve for himself, did sacrifice the public peace, and the security of their master, to their own passions and appetites, to their ambition, and animosities against each other, without the least design of treachery, or damage towards his majesty: a time, in which want of discretion and mere folly produced as much mischief as the most barefaced villainy could have done; and in which the king suffered as much by the irresolution and unsteadiness of his own counsels, and by the ill humour and faction of his counsellors, by their not foreseeing what was evident to most other men, and by their jealousies of what was not like to fall out; sometimes by deliberating too long without resolving, and as often resolving without any deliberation, and most of all, not executing vigorously what was well deliberated and resolved; as by the indefatigable industry, and the irresistible power and strength of his enemies.

All these things must be very particularly enlarged upon, and exposed to the naked view, in the relation of what fell out in this year, 1645, in which we are engaged, except we will swerve from that precise rule of ingenuity and integrity we profess to observe; and thereby leave the reader more perplexed, to see the most prodigious accidents fall out, without discerning the no less prodigious causes which produced them; which would lead him into as wrong an estimate of things, and persuade him to believe, that a universal corruption of

the hearts of the whole nation had brought forth those lamentable effects; which proceeded only from the folly and the frowardness, from the weakness and the wilfulness, the pride and the passion of particular persons, whose memories ought to be charged with their own evil actions, rather than they should be preserved as the infamy of the age in which they lived; which did produce as many men eminent for their loyalty and incorrupted fidelity to the crown, as any that had preceded it. Nor is it possible to discourse of all these particulars, with that clearness that must subject them to common understandings, without opening a door for such reflections upon the king himself, as shall seem to call both his wisdom and his courage into question, as if he had wanted the one to apprehend and discover, and the other to prevent, the mischiefs which threatened him. All which considerations might very well discourage, and even terrify me from prosecuting this part of the work with that freedom and openness, as must call many things to memory which are forgotten, or were never understood; and rather persuade me to satisfy myself with a bare relation of what was done, and with the known event of that miserable year, (which, in truth, produced all that followed in the next,) without prying too strictly into the causes of those effects, which might seem rather to be the production of Providence, and the instances of divine displeasure, than to proceed from the weakness and inadvertency of any men, not totally abandoned by God Almighty to the most unruly lusts of their own appetite and inventions.

But I am too far embarked in this sea already,

and have proceeded with too much simplicity and sincerity with reference to things and persons, and in the examinations of the grounds and oversights of counsels, to be now frighted with the prospect of those materials, which must be comprehended within the relation of this year's transactions. I know myself to be very free from any of those passions which naturally transport men with prejudice towards the persons whom they are obliged to mention, and whose actions they are at liberty to censure. There is not a man who acted the worst part, in this ensuing year, with whom I had ever the least difference, or personal unkindness, or towards whom I had not much inclination of kindness, or from whom I did not receive all invitations of farther endearments. There were many who were not free from very great faults and oversights in the counsels of this year, with whom I had great friendship, and which I did not discontinue upon those unhappy oversights; nor did flatter them when they were past, by excusing what they had done. I knew most of the things myself which I mention, and therefore can answer for the truth of them; and other most important particulars, which were transacted in places very distant from me, were transmitted to me, by the king's immediate direction and order, even after he was in the hands and power of the enemy, out of his own memorials and journals. And as he was always severe to himself, in censuring his own oversights, so he could not but well foresee, that many of the misfortunes of this ensuing year would reflect upon some want of resolution in himself, as well as upon the gross errors

and oversights, to call them no worse, of those who were trusted by him. And therefore as I first undertook this difficult work with his approbation, and by his encouragement, and for his vindication, so I enter upon this part of it, principally, that the world may see (at least if there be ever a fit season for such a communication; which is not like to be in this present age) how difficult it was for a prince, so unworthily reduced to those straits his majesty was in, to find ministers and instruments equal to the great work that was to be done; and how impossible it was for him to have better success under their conduct, whom it was then very proper for him to trust with it; and then, without my being over solicitous to absolve him from those mistakes and weaknesses to which he was in truth sometimes liable, he will be found not only a prince of admirable virtue and piety, but of great parts of knowledge, wisdom, and judgment; and that the most signal parts of his misfortunes proceeded chiefly from the modesty of his nature, which kept him from trusting himself enough, and made him believe, that others discerned better, who were much inferior to him in those faculties; and so to depart often from his own reason, to follow the opinions of more unskilful men, whose affections he believed to be unquestionable to his service. And so we proceed in our relation of matter of fact.

What expectation soever there was, that the *self-denying ordinance*, after it had, upon so long deliberation, passed the house of commons, would have been rejected and cast out by the peers; whereby the earl of Essex would still have remained general; it did not take up so long debate there. The mar-

quis of Argyle was now come from Scotland, and sat with the commissioners of that kingdom, over whom he had a great ascendant. He was, in matters of religion, and in relation to the church, purely presbyterian; but in matter of state, and with reference to the war, perfectly independent. He abhorred all thoughts of peace, and that the king should ever more have the government, towards whose person, notwithstanding the infinite obligations he had to him, he had always an inveterate malice. He had made a fast friendship with sir Harry Vane, during his late being in Scotland; and they both liked each other's principles in government. From the time of his coming to the town, the Scottish commissioners were less vehement in obstructing the ordinance, or the new modelling the army: so that after it came to the house of peers, though thereby the earl of Essex, the earl of Manchester, the earl of Warwick, and the earl of Denbigh, (whose power and authority, that is, the power, credit, and authority of the three first named, had absolutely governed and swayed that house from the beginning,) were to be dispossessed of their commands, and no peer of England capable of any employment either martial or civil; yet the ordinance found little opposition, and the old argument, "that the house of commons thought "it necessary, and that it would be of mischievous "consequence to dissent from the house of com-"mons," so far prevailed, that it passed the house of peers likewise; and there remained nothing to be done, but the earl of Essex's surrender of his commission into the hands of the parliament, from whom he had received it; which was thought ne-

cessary to be done with the same formality in which he had been invested with it. Fairfax was now named, and declared general, though the earl of Essex made not haste to surrender his commission; so that some men imagined, that he would yet have contested it: but he was not for such enterprises, and did really believe that the parliament would again have need of him, and his delay was only to be well advised, in all the circumstances of the formality. In the end it was agreed, that, at a conference of both houses in the painted chamber, he should deliver his commission; which he did. And because he had no very plausible faculty in the delivery of himself, he chose to do it in writing; which he delivered to them; in which he expressed, "with what affection and fidelity he had served "them, and as he had often ventured his life for "them, so he would willingly have lost it in their "service; and since they believed, that what they "had more to do would be better performed by "another man, he submitted to their judgment, "and restored their commission to them; hop-"ing they would find an abler servant:" concluding with some expressions which made it manifest that he did not think he had been well used, or that they would be the better for the change: and so left them, and returned to his own house; whither both houses, the next day, went to attend him, and to return their thanks for the great service he had done the kingdom; which they acknowledged with all the encomiums and flattering attributes they could devise.

By this *self-denying ordinance*, together with the earl of Essex, the earl of Manchester, sir William

Waller, the earl of Denbigh, major general Massy, lost their commands; as Cromwell should likewise have done. But as soon as the ordinance was passed, and before the resignation of the earl of Essex, the party that steered had caused him to be sent with a party of horse into the west, to relieve Taunton, that he might be absent at the time when the other officers delivered their commissions; which was quickly observed; and thereupon orders were given, to require his present attendance in parliament, and that their new general should send some other officer to attend that service; which was pretended to be done; and the very day named, by which it was averred that he would be in the house. A rendezvous was then appointed, for their new general to take a view of their troops, that he might appoint officers to succeed those who had left their commands by virtue of the ordinance; and likewise in their places who gave up their commands, and refused to serve in the new model, who were a great number of their best commanders. From this rendezvous, the general sent to desire the parliament, "that they "would give lieutenant general Cromwell leave to "stay with him for some few days, for his better "information, without which he should not be able "to perform what they expected from him." The request being so reasonable, and for so short a time, little opposition was made to it: and shortly after, by another letter, he desired with very much earnestness, "that they would dispense with his "service for that campaign." And so they compassed their whole design, in being rid of all those whose affections they knew were not agreeable to

theirs, and keeping Cromwell in command; who, in the name of Fairfax, modelled the army, and placed such officers as were well known to him, and to nobody else; and absolutely governed the whole martial affairs; as was quickly known to all men; many particulars whereof will be mentioned at large hereafter.

Though the time spent in passing the *self-denying ordinance*, and afterwards in new modelling their army, had exceedingly retarded the preparations the enemy was to make, before they could take the field, whereby the king had more breathing time than he had reason to expect; yet all the hopes he had of recruits against that season, depended upon the activity of those to whose care the providing those recruits was committed: so that there will be little occasion to mention any thing that was done at Oxford, till the season of the year obliged his majesty to leave that place, and to march with his army into the field. And of all the action that was till that time, the west was the scene; where the prince, as soon as he came to Bristol, found much more to do (and in which he could not avoid to meddle) than had been foreseen. One very great end of the prince's journey into the west, besides the other of more importance, which has been named before, was, that by his presence, direction, and authority, the many factions and animosities which were between particular persons of quality, and interest in those parts, and of equal affection to the king's service, (and yet which miserably infested and distracted it,) might be composed and reconciled; and that the endeavours of all men who wished well might be united in the advancing and

carrying on that public service, in which all their joint happiness and security was concerned. This province, besides the prince's immediate countenance and interposition, required great diligence and dexterity in those about him, who were trusted in those affairs. But his highness found quickly another task incumbent on him than had been expected, and a mischief much more difficult to be mastered, and which, if unmastered, must inevitably produce much worse effects than the other could; which was, the ambition, emulation, and contest, which were between several officers of the army and parties, which were then in those parts, whereby their troops were without any discipline, and the country as much exposed to rapine and violence as it could suffer under an enemy, and in an article of time when a body of the enemy was every day expected. That this may be the better understood, it will be necessary, in this first entrance upon this discourse, to set down truly the estate of the western counties, at the time when the prince first came to Bristol.

The lord Goring had been sent by his majesty, before the time of the prince's coming into the west, with such a party of horse, foot, and dragoons, and a train of artillery, as he desired, into Hampshire, upon a design of his own, of making an incursion into Sussex; where he pretended "he had correspondence; and that very many well affected "persons promised to rise, and declare for the king, "and that Kent would do the same." And so a commission was granted to him, of lieutenant general of Hampshire, Sussex, Surrey, and Kent, without the least purpose or imagination that he should

ever be near the prince. Some attempts he made, in the beginning, upon Christ-Church, in Hampshire, a little unfortified fishertown; yet was beaten off with loss: so that he was forced to retire to Salisbury; where his horse committed such horrid outrages and barbarities as they had done in Hampshire, without distinction of friends or foes; so that those parts, which before were well devoted to the king, worried by oppression, wished for the access of any forces to redeem them. Whilst the lord Goring lay fruitlessly in those parts, a party of horse and dragoons, under the command of Vandruske, a German, passed by him without interruption, to the relief of Taunton, which was blocked up by colonel Windham, and reduced to some straits; and accordingly removed those forces. About the same time, sir Walter Hastings, governor of Portland, seconded by sir Lewis Dives, (who had the command of Dorsetshire as colonel general,) had surprised Weymouth, and possessed the forts, and the upper town, the rebels having withdrawn themselves into the lower town, divided from the other by an arm of the sea, and of no considerable strength: so that the speedy reducing that small place was not looked upon as a matter of difficulty. However, lest those forces which had relieved Taunton, and were conceived to be much greater than in truth they were, should be able to disturb the work of Weymouth, and for the sooner expediting the business there, the lord Goring, who pretended that his friends in Sussex and Kent were not ready for him, was by order from Oxford, upon his own desire, sent thither; whereby it was thought, both the work of Weymouth and Taunton would

be speedily effected. Thereupon the lord Hopton, who naturally had the command of those counties as field-marshal of the west, being sent down by the king to compose the disorders there, upon the relief of Taunton, was, by special order, recalled to Bristol, lest there might be dispute of command between him and the lord Goring; the one being general of the ordnance, the other general of the horse; but the lord Hopton was likewise field-marshal of the west, in which the lord Goring had no commission to command.

Shortly after the lord Goring's arrival at Weymouth, with his full strength of horse, foot, and dragoons, and artillery, consisting of above three thousand horse, and fifteen hundred foot, besides what he found in those parts, that place of so vast importance was, by most supine negligence at best, retaken by that contemptible number of the rebels, who had been beaten into the lower town, and who were looked upon as prisoners at mercy. The mysteries of which fatal loss were never inquired into; but with great plainness, by the vote of the country, imputed to general Goring's natural want of vigilance; who thereupon retired with his whole strength into Somersetshire. His highness, upon his arrival at Bristol, found the west in this condition; all Dorsetshire entirely possessed by the rebels, save only what sir Lewis Dives could protect by his small garrison at Sherborne, and the island of Portland, which could not provide for its own subsistence: the garrison of Taunton, with that party of horse and dragoons which relieved it, commanding a very large circuit, and disturbing other parts in Somersetshire: Devonshire intent upon the blocking up of Plymouth at one end, and

open to incursions from Lyme, and prejudiced by Taunton, at the other end: the king's garrisons, in all three counties, being stronger in fortifications (which yet were not finished in any place, and but begun in some) than in men, or any provisions to endure an enemy: whilst the lord Goring's forces equally infested the borders of Dorset, Somerset, and Devon, by unheard of rapine, without applying themselves to any enterprise upon the rebels. Cornwall indeed was entire; but being wholly assigned to the blocking up of Plymouth, yielded no supply to any other service, or to the providing its own garrisons against the time that they might be visited by an enemy.

Sir William Waller and Cromwell marched together about this time towards the west, and making a cavalcade in Wiltshire, had routed and taken the whole regiment of horse of colonel Long, the high sheriff of that county, by his great defect of courage and conduct; and seemed furiously to intend an attempt upon general Goring; who was so much startled with the noise at a great distance, that he drew his forces so far west of Taunton, that Vandruske had an opportunity to retire, with that body of horse and dragoons with which he had relieved Taunton, to his fellows; whilst the king's forces reposed themselves towards Devonshire, the lord Goring himself, and most of his principal officers, taking that opportunity to refresh at Exeter, where they stayed three or four days in most scandalous disorder, a great part of his horse lying upon free quarter, and plundering to the gates of the city; which, being in the beginning of the year, was an ill presage to that people, what they were to expect. But finding that sir William Waller made not that

haste he apprehended, and borrowing such horse and foot as he could procure from Exeter, he returned again towards Taunton, and gave his highness an account of his condition.

His highness, being attended at Bristol by the commissioners of Somerset, found no one thing provided, or one promise complied with, which had been made by them at Oxford: of his guards of horse and foot, which they assured him, for the proportion of that county, should be ready against his coming, not one man or horse provided: of the hundred pound a week, to be allowed by them towards his highness's support, not one penny ready, nor like to be. So that he was forced to borrow from the lord Hopton's own private store, to buy bread. And, which was worse than all this, we found plainly, that, what had been so particularly and positively undertaken at Oxford, was upon the confidence only of three or four men, who were governed by sir John Stawel and Mr. Fountain, without any concurrence from the rest of the commissioners of that, or the other three associated counties; and that they who had been so confident, instead of forming and pursuing any design for raising of men or money, were only busy in making objections, and preparing complaints, and pursuing their private quarrels and animosities against others. So they brought, every day, complaints against this and that governor of garrisons, for the riots and insolences of the lord Goring's soldiers, and, "that "those parts of the county which were adjacent "to Sherborne and Bridgewater were compelled to "work at those fortifications;" and a world of such particulars, most of which, they well knew,

in that conjuncture of time, could not be prevented; and many of which were in themselves very necessary. Yet the prince endeavoured to give them all encouragement; told them, "that he was very "sensible of all those disorders of which they "complained; and would redress them, as soon "as they should discern it to be in his power; "that the forces under the lord Goring were an "army by themselves, come down into those parts "before his highness; and stayed then there for "their protection against the power of Waller, "(which was ready to invade them,) and the gar-"rison of Taunton, which they confessed infested "their whole county; that he was very desirous "that army might move eastward, as soon as they "should put themselves in such a posture, as "might render them secure against their enemies; "wished them to propose any expedients, how the "fortifications of the garrisons might be finished, "without some extraordinary help; or to propose "the most convenient one; and he would join "with them; and desired them to proceed in their "levies of men and money, in the ways agreed on "by themselves; and they should find all concur-"rence and assistance from him." But, notwithstanding all he could say or do, nothing was reasonably proposed or admitted by them, for the advancement of the public service.

By this time, towards the end of March, sir William Waller having advanced with his horse and dragoons by Bath towards Bristol, in hope, as hath been said before, to have surprised that city by some treachery within, and being disappointed there, retired towards Dorsetshire, and the

edge of Somerset, adjoining to that county; where Cromwell expected him; the lord Goring having, in the mean while, fallen into some of Cromwell's quarters about Dorchester, and taken some prisoners and horses, and disordered the rest. Upon a dispute between themselves, or some other orders, Cromwell retired to join with sir Thomas Fairfax towards Reading; sir William Waller stayed in those parts, to intend the business of the west, but made no haste to advance, expecting some supplies of foot by sea at Weymouth. So that the lord Goring drew back to Bruton, and sent to the prince to desire, "that two of his council might meet him "at Wells the next day, to consider what course "was best to be taken:" accordingly the lords Capel and Colepepper, the next day, met his lordship at Wells. Where, after long consideration of the whole state of the west, and of the great importance of reducing Taunton, without which no great matter could be expected from Somersetshire, the lord Goring proposed, and put the design in writing under his own hand, for the whole method and manner of his proceeding, "that he would "leave the gross of his horse, and two hundred "foot mounted, in such convenient place, upon the "skirts of Dorsetshire and Wiltshire, as they "might be able to retire to their body, if the enemy "advanced powerfully; and that he would himself, "with all his foot and cannon, and such horse as "were necessary, attempt the taking or burning of "Taunton:" and to that purpose desired his highness, "to send positive orders to sir Richard "Greenvil," (who, notwithstanding his highness's commands formerly sent to him, and some orders

from the king himself, made not that haste as might reasonably be expected,) " to advance, and " to direct the commissioners of Somerset to give " their personal attendance upon that service; and " in the mean time to take care that sufficient " magazines of victual and provisions were made " for the soldiers:" all which was exactly performed by his highness, the next day after he received the desires of general Goring.

But within three or four days, and before the design upon Taunton was ready for execution, it appeared by the constant intelligence, that Waller was advancing with a great body of horse and dragoons, and some foot; and therefore the attempt upon Taunton was for the present to be laid aside; and the lord Goring very earnestly desired the prince to command sir Richard Greenvil, who was now drawn near to Taunton, with eight hundred horse, and above two thousand two hundred foot, besides pioneers, with all possible speed to march to him, that so he might be able to abide the enemy, if they came upon him; or, otherwise, to compel them to fight, if they stayed in those fast quarters, where they then were; which was about Shaftsbury, Gillingham, and those places. The prince accordingly sent his commands positively to sir Richard Greenvil, " to advance to- " wards the lord Goring, and to obey all such " orders as he should receive from his lordship." But he as positively sent his highness word, " that " his men would not stir a foot; and that he had " promised the commissioners of Devon and Corn- " wall, that he would not advance beyond Taunton, " till Taunton were reduced; but that he made no

" question, if he were not disturbed, speedily to " give a good account of that place." In the mean time, the lord Goring very gallantly and successfully, by night, fell upon sir William Waller's quarters twice in less than a week; and killed and took so good a number, that it was generally believed sir William Waller was lessened near a thousand men by those rencounters; the lord Goring still declaring, " that he could neither " pursue his advantages upon a party, nor engage " the main of the rebels, without the addition of " Greenvil's foot;" and he, notwithstanding all orders, as peremptorily refusing to stir, but professing, " that, if he had an addition of six hun- " dred men, he would be in the town within six " days."

Whilst things stood thus, sir William Waller, much weakened with these disasters, and the time of his command being near expired, drew back eastward; and was, by night marches, retired as far as Salisbury, before the lord Goring had notice of his motion. Whereupon his highness, upon consideration how impossible it was to overtake him, which general Goring himself confessed by his letters, or to engage the forces under the command of Greenvil, and the other forces of those parts, in any action, before the business of Taunton should be over, (which indeed disappointed all our hopes both of men and money in that great county,) and, on the other side, considering, if that place were reduced, (as sir Richard Greenvil undertook it should be in six days, and others, who had viewed it, thought it not a work of time,) besides the terror it would strike into their neighbours, there

would be an army of four thousand horse, and five thousand foot, ready to be applied to any service they should be directed to, and that then the lord Goring might prosecute his commission in Sussex and Kent, with such a reasonable recruit of foot as should be necessary, and yet his highness enabled, in a short time, to be in the head of a very good army raised out of the four associated counties, either for the reducing the few other places which were garrisoned by the rebels, or to march toward his majesty: I say, upon these considerations, the prince (with the privity and advice of prince Rupert, who was then at Bristol, and present at the whole consultation, and the principal adviser in it) wrote, upon the eleventh of April, to the lord Goring, being then about Wells, "that his opinion "was, that the horse and dragoons under his lord-"ship's command should advance from the quarters "where they then were, much to the prejudice of "that county, into Dorsetshire or Wiltshire, or "into both of them; and that the foot and cannon "should march directly towards Taunton, accord-"ing to the design formerly proposed by his lord-"ship; and referred it to himself, whether his "lordship in person would stay with the horse, "or go with the foot; and desired to receive his "opinion and resolution upon the whole;" there being nothing proposed to be acted in two days. This letter was sent by colonel Windham, the governor of Bridgewater, who came that day, from Taunton, from sir Richard Greenvil; and could best inform him of the strength of the town, and the condition of sir Richard Greenvil's forces.

The next day colonel Windham returned with a short sullen letter from the lord Goring to the prince, " that he had, according to his command, " sent the foot and cannon to Taunton, and the " horse to the other places; and that, since there " was now nothing for him to do, he was gone to " Bath to intend his health:" where he complained privately, " that his forces were taken from him at " a time when he meant to pursue Waller, and " could utterly defeat him;" and much inveighed against the prince's council, for sending orders to him so prejudicial to the king's service: whereas it was only an opinion, and not orders, grounded upon what himself had formerly proposed, and to which he was desired to return his present judgment, being within half a day's journey of the prince, upon whom he ought to have attended in person, or have presented his advice to him, if what was then offered seemed not convenient. But, after some days frolickly spent at Bath, he returned to his former temper, and, waiting on the prince at Bristol, was contented to be told, " that " he had been more apprehensive of discourtesies " than he had cause;" and so all misunderstandings seemed to be fairly made up.

The lord Goring's foot and cannon being thus suddenly sent to Taunton, under the command of sir Joseph Wagstaffe; for the better preventing all mistakes and contests about command, the prince sent the lords Capel and Colepepper to Taunton, to settle all disputes that might arise, and to dispose the county to assist that work in the best manner; which proved very fortunate; for the same day they came thither, sir Richard Greenvil, having

brought his forces within musket-shot on one side of Taunton, went himself to view Wellington-house, five miles distant, in which the rebels had a garrison, and was, out of a window, shot in the thigh; with which he fell, the wound being then conceived to be mortal: so that there was no person who would pretend to command; those under Greenvil, having no experienced officer of reputation equal to that charge, yet being superior in number to the other, would not be commanded by sir Joseph Wagstaffe; so that if the lords had not very happily been present, it is probable, both those bodies of foot, each being too weak for the attempt by itself, would, if not disbanded, at best have retired to their former posts, and left those of Taunton at liberty to have done what they thought best. But they being there, and sir John Berkley being in that instant come thither to meet them, with an account of the state of Devonshire, they persuaded him to undertake the present charge of the whole, (all the officers of both bodies having formerly received orders from him,) and to prosecute the former design upon the town; all persons submitting till the prince's pleasure should be farther known; those officers under sir Richard Greenvil presently sending away an express to Bristol, to desire the lord Hopton to take the command of them. But his lordship had no mind to enter upon any particular action with disjointed forces, till, upon the remove of the lord Goring, the whole command might be executed according to former establishment. And so a special direction was sent to all the officers and soldiers, to obey sir John Berkley, according to what had been

formerly settled by the lords. He, in few days, put the business in very good order, and by storm took Wellington-house, where Greenvil had been hurt. I cannot omit here, that the lords, coming to visit Greenvil, in the instant that he was put into his litter, and carrying to Exeter, told him what they had thought necessary to be done in the point of command; the which he seeming very well to approve, they desired him to call his officers, (most of the principal being there present,) and to command them to proceed in the work in hand cheerfully, under the command of sir John Berkley; the which he promised to do, and immediately said somewhat to his officers, at the side of his litter, which the lords conceived to be what he had promised: but it appeared after that it was not so; and, very probably, was the contrary; for neither officer nor soldier did his duty after he was gone, during the time sir John Berkley commanded in that action.

The prince finding the public service in no degree advanced by the commissioners of Somerset, and that though there was no progress made in the association affected, and undertaken by them, yet it served to cross and oppose all other attempts whatsoever; those who had no mind to do any thing, satisfying themselves with the visible impossibility of that design, and yet the other, who had first proposed it, thinking themselves engaged to consent to no alteration; and his highness being informed by a gentleman, (sent by him, at his first coming to Bristol, to the two farthest western counties, to press the execution of whatsoever was promised in order to the association,) "that those

" two counties of Devon and Cornwall were en-
" tirely devoted to serve the prince, in what man-
" ner soever he should propose," he thought fit to summon the commissioners of all the associated counties, to attend upon him in some convenient place, where, upon full consideration, such conclusions might be made, as might best advance the work in hand, both for the reduction of Taunton, and raising a marching army; which counsel had been sooner given, and had in truth been fit to be put in practice upon his first coming to Bristol, when he discerned the flatness, peremptoriness, and unactivity of the gentlemen of Somerset; from whom it was evident nothing was to be expected, till, by the unanimity and strength of the two western counties, that county could be driven and compelled to do what was necessary, and to recede from their own sullen and positive determinations; which had been easy to do, but that shortly after his highness came to Bristol, upon what apprehensions nó man knew, there was great jealousy at Oxford of his going farther west; and thereupon direction given, " that he should not remove from
" Bristol, but upon weighty reasons, and with
" which his majesty was to be first acquainted." Whereas, by his instructions, " he was to make his
" residence in such a place, as by the council
" should be thought most conducing to his affairs." However, such a meeting with all the commissioners being demonstrably necessary, and Bristol thought at too great a distance from the west, besides that the plague begun to break out there very much, for the time of the year, his highness resolved to go to Bridgewater for a few days, and to

summon thither the commissioners, the rather to give some countenance to the business of Taunton, then closely besieged by sir John Berkley; and to that purpose directed his letters to the several commissioners to attend him there, on Wednesday the three and twentieth of April; the king being then at Oxford, preparing for the field, prince Rupert at Worcester, levying men, and the rebels at London in some disorder and confusion about their new model, having newly removed the earl of Essex, and earl of Manchester, earl of Denbigh, and sir William Waller, from any command, and substituted sir Thomas Fairfax general; who was, out of the other broken and almost dissolved forces, to mould an army, which was then in no very hopeful forwardness.

Upon the day, the prince came to Bridgewater; and was attended by a great body of the commissioners of Somerset, that place being near the centre of that great county; there appeared for Dorsetshire, as sent from the rest, sir John Strangeways, Mr. Anchetil Grey, and Mr. Ryves; for Devonshire, sir Peter Ball, sir George Parry, Mr. Saint Hill, and Mr. Muddyford; and for Cornwall, sir Henry Killegrew, Mr. Coriton, Mr. Scawen, and Mr. Roscorroth. The whole body waited on the prince the next morning; and were then told, "that his coming thither was to receive their advice, and to give his assistance in what might "concern the peace and welfare of each particular "county, and might best advance the general service of the king; that if the association which "had been proposed, seemed to them, by the accidents and mutations which had happened since

" the time of that first proposal," (as in truth very notable ones had happened,) " not fit now to be " further prosecuted, he was ready to consent to " any alteration they should propose, and to join " with them in any other expedient; and wished " them therefore to confer together, what was best " to be done; and when they were ready to pro- " pose any thing to him, he would be ready to " receive it." After two or three days' consultation amongst themselves, they were unanimously of opinion, (except sir John Stawel, who, against all the rest, and against all that could be said to him, continued positive for the general rising of one and all, and for that alone,) " that that design was " for the present to be laid aside; and that, instead " thereof, those counties, according to their several " known proportions, would in a very short time" (as I remember a month was the utmost) " raise " and arm six thousand foot, besides the prince's " guards, which would be full two thousand more; " not reckoning those of the lord Goring's, which " were fifteen hundred, but including the foot of " sir John Berkley and sir Richard Greenvil, then " before Taunton;" which all men concluded would be reduced in less than a month. This proposition being approved by the prince, all particulars were agreed upon: the several days for the rendezvous of the new levies, and the officers to whom the men were to be delivered, named; and warrants issued out accordingly: all things requisite for the speedy reduction of Taunton ordered and directed; so that, in order to the taking that place, and the raising an army speedily, all things stood so fair, that more could not be wished.

As this journey to Bridgewater wrought this good effect, so it produced one notable inconvenience, and discovered another. The prince, having before his coming from Oxford been very little conversant with business, had been persuaded, from his coming out, to sit frequently, if not constantly, in council, to mark and consider the state of affairs, and to accustom himself to a habit of speaking and judging upon what was said; to the which he had with great ingenuity applied himself: but coming to Bridgewater, and having an extraordinary kindness for Mrs. Windham, who had been his nurse, he was not only diverted by her folly and petulancy from applying himself to the serious consideration of his business, but accustomed to hear her speak negligently and scornfully of the council; which, though it made no impression in him of disrespect towards them, encouraged other people who heard it, to the like liberty; and from thence grew an irreverence towards them; which reflected upon himself, and served to bring prejudice to their counsels throughout the whole course. She had besides many private designs of benefit and advantage to herself and her children, besides the qualifying her husband to do all acts of power without control upon his neighbours, and laboured to procure grants or promises of reversions of lands from the prince; and finding that the prince was not to transact any such thing without the advice of the council, and that they were not like to comply in those enterprises, she laboured to raise jealousies and dislikes between them, and kindled such a faction in the prince's family, as produced many inconveniences. For from hence sir Charles Berkley, who had a pro-

mise to be made controller of the prince's household, and Mr. Long, who had the like promise to be his secretary, when he should be created prince of Wales, (till which time those officers were never made,) began to think they had injury done them, that they were not presently of the prince's council, to which the places they were to have gave them title; though they knew well, that the lords who then attended upon the prince, were of the king's privy council, and in that capacity only, waited upon his highness; and that the other were only of the prince's own council for his revenue, and for the administration of the duchy of Cornwall, for which his highness had now his livery.

However, these fancies, thus weakly grounded and entertained, made such an impression upon those persons, that they united themselves into a faction, and prevailed over the weakness of the earl of Berkshire to join with them; and, by degrees, all of them joined with all [other] discontented persons, to render the council to be much neglected and undervalued. Lastly, she being a woman of great rudeness, and of a country pride, *Nihil muliebre præter corpus gerens*, valued herself much upon the power and familiarity which her neighbours might see she had with the prince of Wales; and therefore, upon all occasions, in company, and when the concourse of the people was greatest, would use great boldness towards him; and, which was worse than all this, she affected in all companies, where she let herself out to any freedom, a very negligent and disdainful mention of the person of the king; the knowledge of which humour of hers, was one reason that made his majesty un-

willing his son should go farther west than Bristol; since he knew Bridgewater must be a stage in that motion. And this her ill disposition was no sooner known to the lords, who were all absolute strangers to her before, than they took care that his highness should make no longer residence in that garrison.

The other inconvenience that it discovered, was the design of the lord Goring to have the command of the west. For then it grew very apparent, that, whatever had been pretended for Kent or Sussex, he had, from the beginning, affected that charge; and, I fear, had some other encouragement for it, than was then avowed. And therefore, from his first coming into those parts, he had with great industry caressed the commissioners of Somerset and Devon, and especially those whom he thought any way inclined against the lord Hopton; whom, by all ill arts, he endeavoured to undervalue; inveighing against "the too great contribution, assigned "to the garrison of Bristol; and that any should "be allowed to the unnecessary garrison (as he "called it) at Lamport;" which had been lately settled by the lord Hopton; and, as appeared afterwards, was of vast importance: those discourses being most popular to the country, though most pernicious to the king: and promised "great strict-"ness and severity of discipline, if that power under "the prince might be devolved to him." To Bridgewater he came at the same time from Bath, upon pretence of "visiting Taunton, and seeing whether "the work were like to be soon done, that it might "be worth the intending it;" but, in truth, to drive on his project for command with the commissioners; who were invited by sir Peter Ball to

make it one of their propositions to the prince, "that the lord Goring might be constituted his "lieutenant general;" which he himself had so absolutely digested, that, as if the matter itself had been out of question, he proposed privately to most of the prince's council, the rules that should be observed between them in the government of the army, and the administration of the civil part. Some, of no extraordinary kindness to Goring, wished the agreement made, and him settled in the command, as the best, if not the only expedient, for advancement of the king's service, and for the speedy forming an army worthy of the prince's own person in the head of it; apprehending, that the dividing his forces from the new levies would leave a good body of foot without an equal power of horse, and without a train, except a longer time were given for the making it, than the state of affairs promised to permit. But when Goring discovered by his discourse with several of the council, (with whom he communicated upon the argument very freely, and expressed in plain English, "that except he might be satisfied in the particu-"lars he proposed, he should have no heart to pro-"ceed in the public service,") that they would not consent to any act that might reflect upon the lord Hopton; and that some of them had such a prejudice to his person, that they would make no conjunction with him, he resolved to compass his ends some other way; and so pressed it no farther in any public address to the prince at that time. It is not to be omitted, that he was then offered, and assured, "that, as soon as the business of Taunton "should be over, he should have such a recruit

" out of the new levies, as would make up his own " foot three thousand men, besides officers;" with which he might well prosecute his former design; and, in the mean time, he had the absolute command; the lord Hopton not at all interposing, or meddling with the army.

It was now concluded by all men who had well considered his carriage and behaviour from his first coming into the west, that, as he had formed that design in his own thoughts from the first, of being about the prince, and resolved never to march with the army under prince Rupert, (whose nature was not agreeable to him,) so that he had purposely and willingly suffered Vandruske to relieve Taunton, and even Weymouth to be again recovered by that handful of men who had been beaten out of it, lest the business of the west might be done without him, or by other men; and that his presence there might not be thought necessary. For if Taunton had been reduced, as it must have been if that small party had not relieved it even in the last article, he could have had no pretence to have stayed in those parts, but must immediately have pursued his former design upon Sussex, and those other counties, for which he had never any reasonable foundation; or have continued his march to the king; which he had less mind to do. And when he first left Oxford, and went into Hampshire, which was before the end of the treaty at Uxbridge, he had, in his jovial fits, when he was always very unreserved, declared, with great resentment, " that " his father was ill treated by the queen in France, " and that he hoped shortly to find himself in such " a posture, that the king should find it reasonable

" to use both his father and himself better." And yet the king had even then, upon his suit, made his father captain of his guard of halberteers, and created him earl of Norwich, whereby himself had the appellation of lord, which he enough affected: and in his first debauches at Exeter, his brother Porter, who was lieutenant general of his horse, informed some persons of honour in confidence, " that Goring resolved to make himself lieutenant " general to the prince, or else to be very discon- " tented." This advertisement was sent to some of the council, upon his highness's first coming to Bristol; and was the first hint that ever they received, that he had affected that charge; and was not, with the rest of his behaviour, like to dispose them to wish that he might obtain his desire; but to do all that was in their power to prevent it.

The general business concerning the four counties being agreed and settled at Bridgewater, the commissioners for Devon desired to be heard in what concerned that particular county; and then informed his highness, " that, upon sir Richard Greenvil's " first entering upon the work of Plymouth, and his " assurance, that he would take the town before " Christmas-day, (which undertaking I myself saw " under his hand,) and that he would forthwith " raise, arm, and pay twelve hundred horse, and " six thousand foot, they had assigned him above " one half of their whole contribution, amounting " to above eleven hundred pounds a week; and, " for the providing arms and ammunition, had as- " signed him the arrears of the contribution due " from those hundreds allotted to him; which " amounted to near 6000*l.*; he having likewise the

" whole contribution of Cornwall, being above
" seven hundred pounds weekly; and had received
" most part of the letter and subscription money of
" that county towards the same service: that he
" had, from his first entering upon the charge,
" quietly enjoyed those contributions in Devon,
" which were duly paid; and had received the
" greatest part of the arrears assigned to him for
" the provision of arms and ammunition: notwith-
" standing all which, he had never bought above
" twenty barrels of powder, or any arms, but had
" received both the one and the other from them,
" out of their magazines; and had never main-
" tained or raised near half the number of men to
" which he was obliged, till the week before he
" was required to march to Taunton; when he had
" called the *posse comitatus*, and thence forced
" almost the whole number of foot, which marched
" with him thither, bringing them with him, as far
" as Exeter, unarmed; and there compelled the
" commissioners to supply him with arms and am-
" munition; that having left not two thousand foot
" and four hundred horse before Plymouth, he con-
" tinued still to receive the whole contribution for-
" merly assigned when he was to have twelve
" hundred horse and six thousand foot; and would
" not part with any of it: so that he received more
" out of Devonshire for the blocking up of Ply-
" mouth, (having all Cornwall to himself likewise,)
" than was left for the garrisons of Exeter, Dart-
" mouth, Barnstable, and Tiverton, and for the
" finishing those fortifications, victualling the gar-
" risons, providing arms and ammunition; with
" which they had before not only supplied them-

" selves, but had sent great quantities to the king's " army, to the lord Goring, and to the siege of " Taunton: that he would not suffer them to send " any warrants to collect the letter and subscription " money, to settle the excise, or meddle with delin- " quents' estates in the hundreds assigned to him " for contribution; and had those continual con- " tests with sir John Berkley, being colonel general " of the county, and the other governors of gar- " risons; pretending that he had power to com- " mand them; that there was such an animosity " grown between them, that they very much ap- " prehended the danger of those divisions; there " having been some blood shed, and men killed, " upon their private contests:" and therefore be- sought his highness, " by his authority, to settle " the limits of their several jurisdictions, in order " to the martial affairs; and likewise to order sir " Richard Greenvil to receive no more contribution, " than would suffice for the maintenance of those " men who continued before Plymouth; whereby " they could be only enabled to perform their parts " of the association."

This was pressed with so much earnestness and reason, that it was thought very advisable for his highness himself to go to Exeter, where both the commissioners and sir Richard Greenvil were; and there, upon the hearing of all that could be said, to settle the whole dispute. But at the same time, and whilst that matter was in consideration, letters came from his majesty to his highness and the lords, expressly inhibiting his going farther westward; upon what reasons I cannot imagine; and there- upon the prince himself returned to Bristol on

Wednesday the thirtieth of April, having stayed at Bridgewater only seven days; and sent the lords Capel and Colepepper, and the chancellor of the exchequer, to Exeter, with instructions "to ex- "amine all the complaints and allegations of the "commissioners, and to settle the business of the "contribution; and upon view of the several com- "missions of sir John Berkley and sir Richard "Greenvil, so to agree the matter of jurisdiction, "that the public service might not be obstructed." And from hence I shall continue this discourse throughout all the agitations concerning sir Richard Greenvil to the time of his commitment; in which himself hath taken great pains to have it thought, he had very hard measure, and that thereby his majesty's service much suffered in the west.

As soon as the lords appointed by his highness to go to Exeter came thither, they went the same hour to visit sir Richard Greenvil, who was still bedrid of his hurt. They intended it only as a visit, and so would not reply, at that time, to many very sharp and bitter complaints and invectives he made against sir John Berkley, (who was then at the leaguer before Taunton,) but told him, "that "they would come to him again the next day, and "consider of all businesses." Accordingly they came, when, with great bitterness, he again complained of the governor, and some disrespects from his lieutenant governor: but when he was pressed to particulars, he mentioned principally some high and disdainful speeches, the most of which were denied by the other, and the withholding some prisoners from him, which he had sent his marshal for near Taunton. The truth of which was this;

whilst sir Richard was before Taunton, he had sent for one Mr. Syms, a justice of peace of the county, a rich and decrepit man, who lived within three miles of that town. He charged him with some inclinations to the rebels, and of favouring their proceedings. The gentleman stood upon his justification and innocency, and desired to be put upon any trial. However, sir Richard told him, "he "was a traitor, and should redeem himself at a "thousand pounds, or else he would proceed in "another way;" and gave him three days to provide the money. Before the time expired, sir Richard was hurt, and carried to Exeter; whither he no sooner came, but he despatched his marshal to fetch Mr. Syms to him; who appealed to sir John Berkley, (who had then the command,) and desired to be put upon any trial; and (besides that he was of a very infirm body, and unfit for travel) many gentlemen of the best quality gave him a very good testimony, and undertook for his appearance, whenever he should be called upon. Upon this sir John Berkley discharged the marshal, and writ a very civil letter to sir Richard Greenvil, of the whole matter; "and that he would see the "gentleman forth coming upon the least warning; "but that it would be an act of great cruelty, to "carry him a prisoner, in that indisposition of "health, from his house." Sir Richard looked upon this as the robbing him of a thousand pounds, and writ such a letter to sir John Berkley, so full of ill language and reproach, as I have never seen the like from and to a gentleman; and complained to us of the injury. We told him, "that neither he, "nor sir John Berkley, had any authority to med-

" dle with Mr. Syms, or any persons of that quality;
" who could not be looked upon as prisoners of
" war; but if in truth he should prove to be a de-
" linquent, and guilty of those crimes objected
" against him, his fine and composition was due to
" the king, who had assigned the same to the
" prince for the public service; and that there
" were commissioners, before whom he was regu-
" larly to be tried, and with whom he might only
" compound." He would not understand the reason of this, but insisted upon " sir John Berkley's " protecting Syms, as a great indignity to him-" self." On the other hand, sir John Berkley complained by his letters, " that those soldiers " brought to Taunton by Greenvil every day " mouldered away, and he had reason to believe it " was by his direction; for that those that stayed, " and the officers, were very backward in perform-" ing their duties; and that, after the taking of " Wellington-house, he had commanded that no-" thing should be done towards the defacing it, " because it might possibly be fit to put a garrison " into it, if the siege should be raised from Taun-" ton; but that the officer, who was under Green-" vil, had, notwithstanding such command, burned " it: that he proceeded in the levying monies, and " sending out extravagant warrants throughout the " county;" and many other particulars.

Sir Richard Greenvil denied, " that the soldiers " left the leaguer, or that Wellington-house was " burned by any direction of his;" though it appeared, that all such soldiers as left their colours and came to him, were kindly used, and had money given to them by him; and that lieutenant colonel Robinson, after he had received orders from sir

John Berkley not to slight Wellington-house, rode to Exeter to sir Richard Greenvil, and immediately, upon his return from him, caused it to be burnt. Greenvil said, " that he levied no monies, " nor issued out any warrants, but what he had " authority to do by his commission." In the end they shewed him their instructions from the prince, " throughly to examine all differences between " them; and, upon view of both their commissions, " to agree what limits each of them should ob- " serve." Thereupon he shewed them his commission in paper, under his majesty's sign manual, attested by the lord Digby, by which he was authorized " to command the forces before Ply- " mouth;" and in order thereunto, with such clauses of latitude and power, as he might both raise the *posse*, and command the trained bands, and indeed the whole forces of both counties; and was to receive orders from his majesty, and his lieutenant general; and was likewise at that time high sheriff of Devon. Sir John Berkley's commission was precedent, and more formal, being under the great seal of England, " of colonel " general of the counties of Devon and Cornwall, " and to command the whole forces of both " counties, as well trained bands as others;" so that, though their commissions were not in intention all one, yet they included clauses and powers so much the same, that either of them had authority enough to disturb the other; and he that only saw his own, might reasonably think he had power over the other: which, between persons so disinclined one to the other as they were grown to be, might have proved very fatal, if the remedy had not been so near by his highness's authority.

After the perusal of their commissions, they shewed him their instructions, concerning the regulating the contributions, in proportionable assignments for the several services; and desired his opinion, "what forces were now necessary for the "blocking up of Plymouth, since any attempt for "the taking it was to be laid aside, at least for a "time? And that thereupon, such assignation "might be made to that purpose, as was sufficient, "and the rest otherwise disposed of." He told them, "that the forces then there (being about "fifteen hundred foot and four hundred horse, of "the Devonshire side) were sufficient;" and proposed allowance little enough for the service; and then said, "that it troubled him to be confined to "such an employment, as the blocking up a place, "whilst there was like to be so much action in the "field; and therefore he hoped his highness would "give him leave to wait on him in the army; "where he thought he might do him much better "service." They told him, "they had authority "from the prince," (for some of his friends had mentioned the same, soon after he had received his wound,) "if they found his health able to bear "it, and his inclination led him that way, to let "him know, that his highness would be glad of his "service, in the moulding that army which was "then raising; which, allowing two thousand foot "to the recruiting the lord Goring, would be in "view six thousand foot, and above two thousand "horse with the guards; in which he had designed "him the second place of command." But then, they said, "they knew not where to place the "command of Plymouth." Sir Richard very

cheerfully received the proposition for himself in the army; and for Plymouth, he said, "no man "was fit to undertake the work there, but sir "John Berkley, who had the command of both "counties: that it was visible by the differences "and breaches that had been between them, how "inconvenient it would be to have that charge "independent; whereas, if it were in one hand, "the unanimous consent of both counties, and "all the forces in them, would more easily do the "business."

All things being thus agreed upon, as far as they could be without sir John Berkley's consent, who was then before Taunton; the lords resolved to return to the prince, and in their way to dispose sir John Berkley to what had been proposed; and left the chancellor of the exchequer at Exeter, to agree with the commissioners upon the settlement of the contributions, and to settle some other particulars which they had resolved upon. The whole contribution of the county of Devon amounted to two thousand pound weekly; whereof so many hundreds were assigned by the commissioners, for the maintenance of the forces before Plymouth, as amounted to the just proportion and establishment proposed by sir Richard Greenvil himself; and then so many to the garrisons of Exeter, Dartmouth, Barnstable, and Tiverton, as amounted to the payment of such forces, as, on all hands, were agreed to be absolutely necessary for their defence, at the lowest establishment. All which being done, upon supposition that the whole contribution, being two thousand pound weekly, would be, according to the assignments, exactly paid, there remained not

a penny overplus, for the buying ammunition and arms, for the finishing fortifications, for victualling the garrisons, or for blocking up of Lyme; which if it were not done, all that part of the country would be liable to that pressure; and so, unable to pay contribution where it was assigned. But it was supposed, the last might be done by drawing out some numbers from the several garrisons, if there were no disturbance from abroad; and the rest must be supplied out of the excise, the major part whereof was by the king assigned for the support of the princess [Henrietta, left at Exeter], and some other extraordinary ways to be thought of: the latter money and subscription money being almost exhausted.

His highness was no sooner returned to Bristol from Bridgewater, which was on the last day of April, than general Goring was sent for by the king, to draw his horse and dragoons towards Oxford; that thereby his majesty might free himself from Cromwell; who, with a very strong party of horse and dragoons, lay in wait, to interrupt his joining with prince Rupert about Worcester. How unwelcome soever these orders were to the lord Goring, yet there was no remedy but he must obey them: and it was now hoped, that the west should be hereafter freed from him, where he was at that time very ungracious. He marched with that expedition towards the king, who was then at Woodstock, that he fell upon a horse quarter of Cromwell's, and another party of Fairfax's horse, as they were attempting a passage over the river of Isis, so prosperously, (the very evening before he came to the king,) that he broke

and defeated them with a great slaughter, which gave him great reputation, and made him exceedingly welcome: and it was indeed a very seasonable action, to discountenance and break such a party, in the infancy of their new model; and did break their present measures, and made Fairfax to appoint a new place of rendezvous for his new army, at a greater distance from the king's forces.

Prince Rupert, who now met with very little opposition in council, had, throughout the winter, disposed the king to resolve "to march northwards, "and to fall upon the Scottish army in Yorkshire, "before Fairfax should be able to perfect his new "model to that degree, as to take the field." This design was not unreasonable; nor the prince to blame for desiring to take revenge on them who had offended him so terribly the last year; which, now they were separated from the English, who had indeed defeated him, he believed was easy to be done. That purpose of marching northward was now the more hastened, that, in the way, Chester might be relieved; which was closely besieged; and then they might come soon enough to Pontefract-castle, before which the Scottish army then was; and if they could defeat that, the king would be again, upon the matter, master of the north: which, by the insolence of the Scots, and the dislike they had of the new model, was conceived to be better affected than ever. The next day after Goring came to the king, the army was drawn to a rendezvous, and consisted then of five thousand foot, and above six thousand horse; an army not to be reasonably lessened in the beginning of a campaign, when the king was to

expect he should have so much to do; and if it had been kept together, it is very probable that the summer might have been crowned with better success.

Fairfax was then about Newbury, not in readiness to march; yet reported to be much more unready than he was, and that his design was to carry his whole army to the relief of Taunton, which was brought almost to extremity; which if he could bring to pass, would give him great reputation, and would make the parliament near sharers with the king in the interest of the west. Upon this prospect, it was thought reasonable, and accordingly proposed "that the king himself would march "with his army into the west; and thereby, not "only prevent the relief of Taunton, but compel "Fairfax to fight, before he should be able to join "with Cromwell; who had not yet gathered his "troops together." This was the concurrent advice of the whole council with which the king used to advise, prince Rupert only excepted, and sir Marmaduke Langdale, who commanded the northern horse; which were impatient to be in their own country. Now the very contrary affections towards each other, between prince Rupert and the lord Goring, began to cooperate to one and the same end. The prince found that Goring, as a man of a ready wit, and an excellent speaker, was like to have most credit with the king in all debates; and was jealous, that, by his friendship with the lord Digby, he would quickly get such an interest with his majesty, that his own credit would be much eclipsed. Hereupon, he did no less desire that Goring should return again into the west, than

Goring did, not to remain where prince Rupert commanded. This produced a great confidence and friendship between them, and the prince told him all that any of the council had spoken freely to him, when his highness abhorred nothing more than that Goring should be near the prince of Wales; and Goring said all of the council, which he believed would most irreconcile him to them. So they both agreed to do all they could, to lessen the credit and authority of the council. The king was desired to receive the information and state of the west from Goring; who, upon the late good fortune he had, and by the artifices of the lord Digby, was too easily believed. He informed the king with all imaginable confidence, "that if, by "the positive command of the prince, contrary to "his opinion and advice, his forces had not been "taken from him, and applied to the siege of "Taunton, he had doubtless totally ruined all "Waller's forces, and prevented the coming of "those parties who had given his majesty so much "trouble at Oxford: that he had been always "used, upon his resort to the prince, with great "disrespect, being not called into the council, but "put to an attendance without, amongst inferior "suitors;" and then told many particular passages at Bridgewater, of which he raised advantage to himself, upon the prejudice he begot to others.

Whereas the truth of the design upon Taunton is before set down, with all the circumstances; and Waller was marched beyond Salisbury, before the lord Goring knew where he was; and confessed, there was no overtaking him; and he had always received as much respect from the prince and

council, as could be given to a subject; being constantly called, and admitted to council when he was present; and when absent, opinions and advices sent to him from the council, upon such particulars as himself proposed, with a full reference to his discretion, to do, upon the place, as he judged most meet: yet, I say, he got so much credit, that the king, by his letter of the tenth of May to the prince, directed, "that general Goring should "be admitted into all consultations and debates, "and advised withal, as if he were one of the "established council; that prince Rupert having "granted him power to give commissions in that "army, all commissions to be granted should pass "by general Goring; and that none should be "granted by the prince, in his own name, other-"wise than in such cases as were of relation "merely to the association: that the council "should contribute their opinions and advices to "general Goring, but that his highness should "carefully forbear to give unto the lord Goring "any positive or binding orders;" whereas, by his instructions, when he came from Oxford, he was to put both his commissions, of generalissimo, and of general of the association, in execution, as he found most convenient; his majesty himself then entertaining very little hope of the association, as it was proposed; and therefore, by his letters to the prince of the twentieth of April, which came to him at Bridgewater, all the assignations formerly made towards the association, were directed to be disposed, and converted to such uses, as by the advice of his council should be found most advantageous to the service of those parts; and there-

upon the levies were consented to, and directed as is before mentioned. With these triumphant orders, the lord Goring returned into the west; where we shall now leave him, and wait upon his majesty, in his unfortunate march, until we find cause enough to lament that counsel, which so fatally dismissed him and his forces, at a time, in which, if he were born to serve his country, his presence might have been of great use and benefit to the king; which it was never after in any occasion.

When Goring was thus separated from the king's army, his majesty marched to Evesham; and in his way, drew out his garrison from Camb-den-house; which had brought no other benefit to the public, than the enriching the licentious governor thereof; who exercised an illimited tyranny over the whole country, and took his leave of it, in wantonly burning the noble structure, where he had too long inhabited, and which, not many years before, had cost above thirty thousand pounds the building. Within few days after the king left Evesham, it was surprised by the enemy, or rather stormed and taken for want of men to defend the works; and the governor and all the little garrison made prisoners. The loss of this place was an ill omen to the succeeding summer; and, upon the matter, cut off all the intercourse between Worcester and Oxford; nor was it at all repaired by the taking of Hawkesly-house in Worcestershire; which the rebels had fortified, and made strong, and which the king's army took in two days, and therein the governor, and one hundred and twenty prisoners; who served to redeem those who were lost in Evesham. And so,

by easy and slow marches, they prosecuted their way towards Chester. But, in Staffordshire, the lord Byron, who was governor of Chester, met the king; and informed him, "that the rebels, "upon the noise of his majesty's advance, were "drawn off;" and so there was no more to be done, but to prosecute the northern design; which was now intended, and the army upon its march accordingly, when intelligence was brought, "that "Fairfax had sent a strong party to relieve Taun-"ton, and was himself, with his army, sat down "before Oxford." This could not but make some alteration, at least a pause in the execution of the former counsels: and yet Oxford was known to be in so good a condition, that the loss of it could not in any degree be apprehended, and nothing could more reasonably have been wished, than that Fairfax should be throughly engaged before it: and it was concluded, "that the best way to draw him "from thence, would be to fall upon some place "possessed by the parliament."

And they had no considerable town so near the place where the king then was, as Leicester; in which there was a good garrison, under the command of sir Robert Pye; and prince Rupert, who was always pleased with any brisk attempt, cheerfully entertained the first motion, and sent sir Marmaduke Langdale forthwith to surround it (which was of great extent) with his horse; and the next day, being the last of May, the whole army was drawn about the town, and the prince, having taken a view of it, commanded a battery to be forthwith raised against an old high stone wall, on the south side of the town; which, by his own

continued presence, was finished with admirable diligence: which done, he sent a summons to the governor; who returned not such an answer as was required. Thereupon, the battery began to play; and, in the space of four hours, made such a breach, that it was thought counsellable, the same night to make a general assault with the whole army, in several places; but principally at the breach; which was defended with great courage and resolution; insomuch, that the king's forces were twice repulsed with great loss and slaughter; and were even ready to draw off in despair: when another party, on the other side of the town, under the command of colonel Page, seconded by a body of horse that came but that day from Newark, and, putting themselves on foot, advanced, with their swords and pistols, with the other, entered the town; and made way for their fellows to follow them: so that, by the break of day, the assault having continued all the night, all the king's army entered the line. Then the governor, and all the officers and soldiers, to the number of twelve hundred, threw down their arms, and became prisoners of war: whilst the conquerors pursued their advantage, with the usual license of rapine and plunder, and miserably sacked the whole town, without any distinction of persons or places; churches and hospitals, as well as other houses, were made a prey to the enraged and greedy soldier, to the exceeding regret of the king; who well knew, that, how disaffected soever that town was generally, there were yet many who had faithful hearts to him, and who he heartily wished might be distinguished from the rest: but those

seasons admit no difference of persons. Though the place was well gotten, because so little time had been spent in the getting it, yet it was not without very considerable loss on the king's side; there being near two hundred soldiers dead upon the places of assault, with many officers; colonel Saint George, and others of name; besides many more wounded and maimed. The king presently made the lord Loughborough, a younger son of the earl of Huntington, and one who had served him eminently from the beginning of the war, governor of Leicester; and sir Matthew Appleyard, a soldier of known courage and experience, his lieutenant governor.

The taking of Leicester, the chief town of that province, even as soon as he came before it, and in that manner, purely by an act of great courage, gave the king's army great reputation, and made a wonderful impression of terror upon the hearts of those at Westminster; who now revolved the conditions which were offered at Uxbridge; and which they had refused. They began to curse their new model; and to reproach those who had persuaded them "so ingratefully to throw off their old gene-
"ral, who was ready to foment all their discon-
"tents. It was not above twenty days, that the
"king's army had been in the field, and in that
"short time it had reduced two strong garrisons
"of theirs, without giving the soldiers any condi-
"tions, Hawkesly-house in Worcestershire, and
"the town of Leicester: whilst their new general
"Fairfax had only faced Oxford at a distance, to
"try whether the ladies would prevail for the giving
"up of the town, to pacify their fears; and had

" attempted to take a poor house that lay near, " Borstall-house, and had been beaten from thence " with considerable loss, and had drawn off from " both, very little to his honour." These discourses were so public in the city, and had so much credit in both houses of parliament, that they exceedingly desired peace, and exercised their thoughts only how they might revive the old treaty, or set a new one on foot; when the evil genius of the kingdom in a moment shifted the whole scene.

Leicester was a post, where the king might, with all possible convenience and honour, have sat still, till his army might have been recruited, as well as throughly refreshed. Colonel Gerrard was upon his march towards him from Wales, with a body of three thousand horse and foot: and he had reason to expect, that the lord Goring would be very shortly with him with his horse; for he was not departed from the king above four or five days, with those orders which are mentioned before, (and with which he was so well pleased,) but that the king saw cause to repent his separation, and sent other orders to recall him as soon as was possible. But the king's fate, and the natural unsteadiness and irresolution of those about him, hurried him into counsels very disagreeable to the posture he was in. He knew not that Fairfax was gone from Oxford; and the intelligence, which some men pretended to have received from thence, was, " that it " was in distress." The duke of York remained there; the council, many lords and ladies, who sent intelligence to their friends, and all the magazines were there; and if all these should fall into the enemy's hands, Leicester would appear a very poor

recompence. These particulars being unskilfully, yet warmly pressed by those who could not be understood to mean amiss, the king resolved to march directly for Oxford; and in order thereunto, within five days after the taking of Leicester, he appointed the rendezvous for his army; where he might yet very reasonably have been discouraged from prosecuting that intention; for it then appeared evidently, how very much it was weakened by and since that action, and by the loss of those who were killed and wounded in the storm; by the absence of those who were left behind in the garrison; and by the running away of very many with their plunder, who would in few days have returned.

The number of the king's foot which remained, did not amount to above five hundred above three thousand; which was not a body sufficient to fight a battle for a crown. Then, all the northern horse, who had promised themselves, and were promised by the king, that they should go into their own country, were so transported with this new resolution, that they were with great difficulty restrained from disbanding; and, though they were at last prevailed with to march, were not enough recovered to be depended upon in any sudden action. Notwithstanding all this, the march was continued; the next day, at Harborough, the intelligence came "that Fairfax was drawn off from Oxford, without "having ever approached so near it, as to discharge "one piece of cannon upon it; that he had been "beaten off from Borstall-house with the loss of "officers, as well as soldiers; and that he was "marched with his whole army to Buckingham." But this kindled a greater appetite to find him out,

than there was before. Indeed there was less reason to march northward, since they might well apprehend the Scottish army in their face, and Fairfax in their rear. But there was the same reason still for their retiring back to Leicester, or to Worcester, where they might expect, and could not fail of an addition of forces to the army; and where the enemy, who must now be obliged to find them out, must come with many disadvantages. These considerations were all laid aside, and every body believed, that Fairfax's army was much dispirited, by having failed in their two first enterprises; and that it was now led out of the way, that it might recover courage, before it should be brought to fight with so victorious troops as the king's were: and therefore, that it was best to find them out, whilst their fear was yet upon them: all men concluded that to be true, which their own wishes suggested to them. And so the army marched to Daventry in Northamptonshire: where, for want of knowing where the enemy was, or what he intended to do, the king remained in a quiet posture the space of five days.

Upon the thirteenth of June the king received intelligence, that Fairfax was advanced to Northampton, with a strong army; much superior to the numbers he had formerly been advertised of. Whereupon, he retired the next day to Harborough; and meant to have gone back to Leicester, that he might draw more foot out of Newark, and stand upon his defence, till the other forces, which he expected, could come up to him. But, that very night, an alarm was brought to Harborough, that Fairfax himself was quartered within six miles. A

council was presently called, and the former resolution of retiring presently laid aside, and a new one as quickly taken, "to fight;" to which there was always an immoderate appetite, when the enemy was within any distance. They would not stay to expect his coming, but would go back to meet him. And so, in the morning early, being Saturday the fourteenth of June, all the army was drawn up, upon a rising ground of very great advantage, about a mile south from Harborough, (which was left at their back,) and there put in order to give or receive the charge. The main body of the foot was led by the lord Astley, (whom the king had lately made a baron,) consisting of about two thousand and five hundred foot; the right wing of horse, being about two thousand, was led by prince Rupert; the left wing of horse, consisting of all the northern horse, with those from Newark, which did not amount to above sixteen hundred, was commanded by sir Marmaduke Langdale; in the reserve were the king's life-guard, commanded by the earl of Lindsey, and prince Rupert's regiment of foot, (both which did make very little above eight hundred,) with the king's horse-guards, commanded by the lord Bernard Stuart, (newly made earl of Litchfield,) which made that day about five hundred horse.

The army, thus disposed in good order, made a stand on that ground to expect the enemy. About eight of the clock in the morning it began to be doubted, whether the intelligence they had received of the enemy was true. Upon which the scoutmaster was sent to make farther discovery; who, it seems, went not far enough; but returned and

averred, " that he had been three or four miles " forward, and could neither discover nor hear any " thing of them :" presently, a report was raised in the army, " that the enemy was retired." Prince Rupert thereupon drew out a party of horse and musketeers, both to discover and engage them, the army remaining still in the same place and posture they had been in. His highness had not marched above a mile, when he received certain intelligence of their advance, and in a short time after, he saw the van of their army, but it seems not so distinctly, but that he conceived they were retiring. Whereupon, he advanced nearer with his horse, and sent back, " that the army should march up to him ;" and the messenger who brought the order said, " that the prince desired they should make haste." Hereupon the advantage ground was quitted, and the excellent order they were in, and an advance made towards the enemy, as well as might be. By that time they had marched about a mile and an half, the horse of the enemy was discerned to stand upon a high ground about Naseby ; whence seeing the manner of the king's march, in a full campaign, they had leisure and opportunity to place themselves, with all the advantages they could desire. The prince's natural heat and impatience could never endure an enemy long in his view ; nor believe that they had the courage to endure his charge. And so the army was engaged before the cannon was turned, or the ground made choice of upon which they were to fight : so that courage was only to be relied upon, where all conduct failed so much.

It was about ten of the clock when the battle

began: the first charge was given by prince Rupert; who, with his own, and his brother prince Maurice's troop, performed it with his usual vigour; and was so well seconded, that he bore down all before him, and was master of six pieces of the rebels' best cannon. The lord Astley, with his foot, though against the hill, advanced upon their foot; who discharged their cannon at them, but overshot them, and so did their musketeers too. For the foot on either side hardly saw each other till they were within carabine-shot, and so only gave one volley; the king's foot, according to their usual custom, falling in with their swords, and the butt-ends of their muskets; with which they did very notable execution, and put the enemy into great disorder and confusion. The right wing of horse and foot being thus fortunately engaged and advanced, the left wing, under sir Marmaduke Langdale, in five bodies, advanced with equal resolution; and was encountered by Cromwell, who commanded the right wing of the enemy's horse, with seven bodies greater and more numerous than either of the other; and had, besides the odds in number, the advantage of the ground; for the king's horse were obliged to march up the hill, before they could charge them: yet they did their duty, as well as the place, and great inequality of numbers, would enable them to do. But being flanked on both sides by the enemy's horse, and pressed hard, before they could get to the top of the hill, they gave back, and fled farther and faster than became them. Four of the enemy's bodies, close, and in good order, followed them, that they might not rally again; which they never thought

of doing; and the rest charged the king's foot, who had till then so much the advantage over theirs; whilst prince Rupert, with the right wing, pursued those horse which he had broken and defeated.

The king's reserve of horse, which was his own guards, with himself in the head of them, were even ready to charge those horse who followed his left wing, when, on a sudden, such a panic fear seized upon them, that they all run near a quarter of a mile without stopping; which happened upon an extraordinary accident, that hath seldom fallen out, and might well disturb and disorder very resolute troops, as those were the best horse in the army. The king, as was said before, was even upon the point of charging the enemy, in the head of his guards, when the earl of Carnewarth, who rode next to him, (a man never suspected for infidelity, nor one from whom the king would have received counsel in such a case,) on a sudden, laid his hand on the bridle of the king's horse, and swearing two or three full mouthed Scottish oaths, (for of that nation he was,) said, "Will you go "upon your death in an instant?" and, before his majesty understood what he would have, turned his horse round; upon which a word run through the troops, "that they should *march* to the right "hand;" which was both from charging the enemy, or assisting their own men. And upon this they all turned their horses, and rode upon the spur, as if they were every man to shift for himself.

It is very true, that, upon the more soldierly word *stand*, which was sent to run after them, many of them

returned to the king; though the former unlucky word carried more from him. And by this time, prince Rupert was returned with a good body of those horse, which had attended him in his prosperous charge on the right wing; but they having, as they thought, acted their parts, could never be brought to rally themselves again in order, or to charge the enemy. And that difference was observed shortly from the beginning of the war, in the discipline of the king's troops, and of those which marched under the command of Cromwell, (for it was only under him, and had never been notorious under Essex or Waller,) that, though the king's troops prevailed in the charge, and routed those they charged, they never rallied themselves again in order, nor could be brought to make a second charge again the same day: which was the reason, that they had not an entire victory at Edge-hill: whereas Cromwell's troops, if they prevailed, or though they were beaten, and routed, presently rallied again, and stood in good order, till they received new orders. All that the king and prince could do, could not rally their broken troops, which stood in sufficient numbers upon the field, though they often endeavoured it, with the manifest hazard of their own persons. So that, in the end, the king was compelled to quit the field, and to leave Fairfax master of all his foot, cannon, and baggage; amongst which was his own cabinet, where his most secret papers were, and letters between the queen and him; of which they shortly after made that barbarous use as was agreeable to their natures, and published them in print; that is, so much of them, as they thought

would asperse either of their majesties, and improve the prejudice they had raised against them; and concealed other parts, which would have vindicated them from many particulars with which they had aspersed them.

It will not be seasonable, in this place, to mention the names of those noble persons who were lost in this battle; when the king and the kingdom were lost in it; though there were above one hundred and fifty officers, and gentlemen of prime quality, dead upon the spot; whose memories ought to be preserved. The enemy left no manner of barbarous cruelty unexercised that day; and in the pursuit killed above one hundred women, whereof some were the wives of officers of quality. The king and prince Rupert, with the broken troops, marched by Leicester that night to Ashby de la Zouch; and the next day to Litchfield; and continued two days' march more, till he came to Bewdley in Worcestershire; where he rested one day; and then went to Hereford, with some disjointed imagination, that he might, with those forces under Gerrard, who was general of South Wales, and was indeed upon his march, with a body of two thousand horse and foot, be able to have raised a new army. At Hereford, prince Rupert, before any formed counsel was agreed upon, what the king should do next, left the king, and made haste to Bristol, that he might put that place into a condition to resist a powerful and victorious enemy; which, he had reason to believe, would in a short time appear before it. And nothing can be here more wondered at, than that the king should amuse himself about forming a

new army in counties which had been vexed, and worn out with the oppressions of his own troops, and the license of those governors, whom he had put over them; and not have immediately repaired into the west, where he had an army already formed, and a people, generally, well devoted to his service, and whither all his broken troops, and general Gerrard, might have transported themselves, before Fairfax could have given them any interruption; who had somewhat to do, before he could bend his course that way: of which unhappy omission we shall have too much occasion to take more notice, after we have again visited the west.

The sickness which infested Bristol, and which was thought to be the plague, had made it necessary for the prince [of Wales] to remove from thence: and no place was thought so convenient for his residence as Barnstable, a pleasant town in the north part of Devonshire, well fortified, with a good garrison in it, under the command of sir Allen Apsley. And as his highness was upon his way thither, he received the orders which the lord Goring, who was now returned, had procured from the king; and which he carefully transmitted to his highness as soon as he arrived. And at the same time, the lord Colepepper received another letter from the lord Digby, dated four days after the former orders, by which he signified "the "king's express pleasure, that the lord Goring "should command those forces in chief; that sir "Richard Greenvil should be major general "of the whole army; that sir John Berkley, as "colonel general of Devon and Cornwall, should

" intend the work before Plymouth; and that " prince Rupert would send his ratification of all " these; that the lord Hopton should attend his " charge at the army, as general of the artillery." To which purpose, his majesty with his own hand writ to the lord Hopton; and that the prince " should not be in the army, but keep his residence " in a safe garrison; and there, by the advice of " his council, manage and improve the business of " the west, and provide reserves, and reinforce- " ments for the army:" with an intimation, " that " Mr. Smith's house, near Bristol, would be a con- " venient place for his residence."

The prince and council were much amazed at these counsels and resolutions, so different from those which had been made; and therefore they thought it fit to conceal them, till they might represent faithfully to his majesty the state and condition of those parts, and their advice thereupon: well knowing, that if it were believed in the county, that the prince's authority was in the least manner superseded or diminished, besides other inconveniences, the hopeful levies, upon the agreement at Bridgewater, would be in a moment determined; the gentlemen who were to raise regiments, professing, " that they would receive no commissions " but from his highness." But whatever secrecy they used to conceal the matter of those letters, and hastened away a despatch to the king concerning it, the lord Goring took as much care to publish them; and from that time expressed all possible contempt at least of the council attending the prince. However, within three days, there was another change; for the lord Digby, (sending

at the same time express orders from the king to the lord Goring to that purpose,) by his letters to the lords of the council, of the nineteenth of May, within five days after the former, signified "his "majesty's pleasure, that the lord Goring should "march forthwith towards Northamptonshire, with "all the forces could be spared; and that the "prince himself should stay at Dunstar-castle, "and encourage the new levies:" it being (I presume) not known at court, that the plague, which had driven him from Bristol, was as hot in Dunstar town, just under the walls of the castle. And then again, a letter to the lord Hopton from the king, ordered him "to command the forces under the "prince." The prince was then, as was said before, in his way to Barnstable; having left five hundred of his guards to keep the fort in Bristol, the garrison being then very thin there, by reason of so many drawn from thence for the service before Taunton.

General Goring, upon his return from the king, found Taunton relieved by a strong party of two thousand horse, and three thousand foot, which unhappily arrived in the very article of reducing the town, and after their line was entered, and a third part of the town was burned. But this supply raised the siege, the besiegers drawing off without any loss; and the party that relieved them, having done their work, and left some of their foot in the town, made what haste they could, to make their retreat eastward; when Goring fell so opportunely upon their quarters, that he did them great mischief; and believed that, in that disorder, he had so shut them up between narrow

passes, that they could neither retire to Taunton, nor march eastward: and doubtless he had them then at a great advantage, by the opinion of all men that knew the country. But, by the extreme ill disposing his parties, and for want of particular orders, (of which many men spoke with great license,) his two parties sent out several ways to fall upon the enemy about Petherton-bridge, the one commanded by colonel Thornhill, the other by sir William Courtney, (both diligent and sober officers,) they fell foul on each other, to the loss of many of their men; both the chief officers being dangerously hurt, and one of them taken, before they knew their error; through which the enemy with no more loss got into and about Taunton: notwithstanding which untoward accident, general Goring was, or seemed, very confident that he should speedily so distress them, that the place would be the sooner reduced, by the relief that had been put into it, and that in few days they would be at his mercy.

This was before the latter end of May; when, upon the confidence of speedily despatching that work, all possible and effectual care was taken to supply him with provisions, and to send all the new levied men and his highness's own guards thither. Insomuch, as he had within few days a body of full five thousand foot, and four thousand horse; which he quartered at the most convenient places; rather for ease than duty; having published orders, under pretence of preserving the country from plunder, and with a promise of most exemplary discipline, "that sixpence a day should "be collected for the payment of each trooper;"

to which he got the commissioners' consent; by virtue whereof he raised great sums of money, without the least abatement of the former disorders: yet he proceeded with such popular circumstances, sending most specious warrants out, and declarations for reformation; sometimes desiring, "that "solemn prayers might be said in all churches for "him; and to desire God to bless some attempt "he had then in hand;" always using extreme courtship to the commissioners, (whom he barefaced informed, "that he was to have, or rather, "that he had the absolute command of the west "under the prince, without reference to his coun-"cil,") that with his promises, proclamations, and courtship, together with laughing at those persons they were angry at, he had wrought himself into very popular consideration; till they found, that he promised and published orders, to no other purpose than to deceive them; and that, whilst he seemed with them to laugh at other men, he made them properties only to his own ends.

In this conjuncture, the king's letter came to the lord Goring, to march; to which he returned an answer by an express, before he desired the prince's directions; though he was diligent enough to procure his highness's opinion for the respite of his march. The truth is, the assurance that he gave of his reducing those forces within very few days; the leaving all the west to the mercy of the rebels, if he went before they were reduced; the danger of their marching in his rear, and carrying as great an addition of strength to the enemy, as general Goring could carry to the king, except he carried with him the forces of the several garrisons,

which were then joined to him, made it very counsellable to suspend a present obedience to those orders, till his majesty might receive the full and true state of his affairs in those parts; to which purpose, an express was sent likewise by his highness to the king. In the mean time, general Goring was so far from making any advance upon Taunton, that he grew much more negligent in it than he had been; suffered provisions, in great quantities, to be carried into the town, through the midst of his men; neglected and discouraged his own foot so much, that they ran away faster than they could be sent up to him; and gave himself wholly to license: insomuch that many times he was not seen abroad in three or four days together. Then came the news of the fatal blow at Naseby, which freed him from any fear of being drawn out of the west; yet he used no expedition to attempt any thing upon the enemy, who were exceedingly disheartened; but suffered his guards to be more negligently kept; insomuch that his quarters were often beaten up, even in the daytime; whilst some principal officers of his army, as lieutenant general Porter, and others, with his license, had several parleys with the officers of the rebels, to the very great scandal of the rest; who knew not what interpretation to make of it, at a time that he used to mention the person of the king with great contempt, and avowed in all places a virulent dislike of the prince's council. And, after about six weeks lying about Taunton, the forces whereof he promised to confound (I mean those that marched to the relief of it) within few days, he was forced himself to retire, and suffer them to join with sir

Thomas Fairfax; who in the beginning of July marched towards those parts.

After the prince came to Barnstable, though he very seldom received any account from the lord Goring of what happened, he was informed by several persons of credit, "that general Goring "was much discontented; and expressed a great "sense of disrespect, and unkindnesses that he "had received." And therefore it was wished by them, "that some means might be found out, to "settle a good understanding with him, whereby "he might be encouraged to an alacrity in so im-"portant a season:" and he having appointed to be at Tiverton on such a day, the prince sent thither sir John Berkley, sir Hugh Pollard, and colonel Ashburnham, to confer with him, and to know what he desired; the prince having never denied to assist him, in any one particular he had ever proposed, or to grant him any thing he had expressed a desire of. Upon their meeting there, he carried himself very high; talked only of "ge-"neral neglects put upon him by the prince's "council; that he had been promised by the king "to have the command of the west, but that they "had hindered it; which affront he would have "repaired, before he would do any service upon "the enemy;" with many bitter invectives against particular persons; "whereof, he said, prince Ru-"pert had told him that some thought him not a "man fit to be trusted." They had indeed spoken freely to his highness to that purpose, upon his very frankly discoursing of him. In the end, they pressing him as friends to deal particularly with them, what would satisfy him; he told them, "if he

" might be presently made lieutenant general to " the prince, and admitted of his council, and be " promised to be sworn of the privy council, as " soon as might be, and to be gentleman of the " prince's bedchamber, he would then proceed " roundly and cheerfully in the business; other- " wise, the prince's council should do the work " themselves for him." All this being so extravagant, it cannot be thought any answer could be given to it, especially it being said to them as friends, and not expressly sent to the prince.

When the prince first apprehended the advance of sir Thomas Fairfax to the west, he very earnestly recommended to the lord Goring the state of the garrisons about Bridgewater, especially the garrison of Lamport, which was of so great importance, that, being well supplied, it had secured Bridgewater, and all that part of the country. This garrison had been settled by the lord Hopton, upon his first coming down to Taunton, after Vandruske had raised the blockade that colonel Windham had laid to it; and sir Francis Mackworth (who, having been formerly major general to the marquis of Newcastle of all his forces, was now, that army being dissolved, returning to his command in the Low Countries by his majesty's leave) was engaged by him to take the command of it till, upon the prince's coming into those parts, a worthier command could be provided for him; and before the lord Goring's coming to Taunton, he had fortified it to a good degree. This garrison, from the first establishment, had been much maligned by colonel Windham, who desired not to have another governor so near him, who was to receive some of

the fruit that he had before looked on as his own, though never assigned to him: and then, upon some differences between sir John Stawel and sir Francis Mackworth, it was more inveighed against: insomuch as at the first coming down of the prince to Bristol, most of the time was spent in complaints from sir John Stawel of this garrison, and of the forcing the county to work, and contribute to those fortifications. After the lord Goring's coming to Taunton, he had, as a compliment to Bridgewater, and to all the gentlemen, who were grown angry with my lord Hopton, upon their own fancies, besides the former unkindnesses he had to sir Francis Mackworth upon some disputes they had had in the north, (where they were both general officers,) very much neglected and oppressed that garrison; not only by countenancing all complaints against it, but by taking away all the contribution assigned for the support of it, for the supplying his own army; and expressly inhibiting him by force to levy those rates, which the prince himself had assigned to him. Insomuch as when the club-men of the county assembled together in great numbers, and, having taken some officers and soldiers of that garrison prisoners, for requiring their just contributions in money or provisions, came up to the walls of Lamport, and discharged their muskets upon the works, and sir Francis Mackworth thereupon with his horse charged them, and killing one or two of them, forced the rest to run away, the lord Goring sent him a very strict reprehension for so doing, and positively commanded him "to do so no more; "nor in any case to disturb or injure those people;"

and so brought that garrison so low, that when it might have preserved that army, it had not two days' provisions in it; sir Francis Mackworth having been called to wait on the prince's person, as well by his own choice, (when he saw the carriage towards him, and believing that some prejudice to his person brought a disadvantage to the place,) as by prince Rupert's advice; who promised, when he left the prince at Barnstable, and visited Goring, and Bridgewater, "to settle that garrison of "Lamport, and make colonel Windham governor "of it."

Here I cannot but say somewhat of the club-men; who began then to rise in great numbers, in several parts of the country, about the time that the prince went from Bath to Bridgewater, in his journey to Barnstable; and that night his highness lay at Wells, which was the second of June, a petition was delivered to him, which had been agreed upon that day at Marshals Elme, where there had then assembled five or six thousand men, most in arms; and the petitioners were appointed to attend the next day at Bridgewater for an answer. It was evident, though the avowed ground for the rising was the intolerable oppression, rapine, and violence, exercised by the lord Goring's horse, that, in truth, they received encouragement from many gentlemen of the country; some of them thinking, it would be a good expedient to necessitate a reformation of the army; others believing it would be a profitable rising for the king, and would grow into the matter of the first association, one and all. And therefore some principal agents of sir John Stawel's were very active in those meetings; and

he himself was very solicitous, that a very gracious answer might be returned to their petition; which was followed by some farmerly men, and others of the clergy, both which had good reputations of affection and integrity to the king's service. The prince expressed a great sense of the oppressions they suffered, by the disorder of the army, which he promised to do his best to reform; to which end, he writ many earnest letters to the lord Goring. But his highness told them, "that this unwarrant-
"able course of assembling together, and being
"their own judges, would prove very pernicious:
"for though many of them might mean well, yet
"some active ministers would mingle with them,
"on the behalf of the rebels, and having once
"brought them to a kind of neutrality, and uncon-
"cernedness for the king, would, in a moment, be
"able, against all their good wishes, to apply
"them against him; and therefore straitly in-
"hibited them to meet any more in that manner,
"except they first listed themselves in regiments,
"and chose gentlemen of the country to command
"them;" to whom his highness offered to grant commissions to that purpose.

This answer seemed to satisfy those who attended on the behalf of the petitioners, until they were persuaded by some gentlemen not to submit to it; and so they continued their meetings; many inferior officers of the army quitting their charges, and living amongst them, and improving their discontents. When the prince went to Barnstable, he gave general Goring advertisements "of the
"great danger that might arise out of the license
"that people took to themselves;" and therefore advised him, "on the one hand, to suppress and

" reform the crying disorders of the army by good
" discipline, and severity upon enormous trans-
" gressors; so on the other, seasonably to discoun-
" tenance, and punish those assemblies of club-
" men; which would otherwise, in time, prove as
" dangerous to him, as any other strength of the
" rebels." But, whether it were to shew his great-
ness, and so, popularly to comply with what the prince had discountenanced, or whether in truth he believed he should be able to make use of them, and persuade them to become a part of his army, he did use all possible compliance with them, and would not suffer any force to be used against them. So that they grew to be so powerful, that as they kept provisions from the army, and the garrisons; so when he moved from Taunton, upon the coming down of sir Thomas Fairfax, they killed most of his soldiers; and did him more mischief, than all the power of the rebels.

When the prince came to Barnstable, he received the fatal news of the battle of Naseby, by the noise and triumphs which the rebels made in those parts for their victory, without any particular information, or account from Oxford, or any credible persons; which left some hope that it might not be true, at least not to that degree that disaffected people reported it to be. However, at the worst, it concerned him the more to be solicitous to put the west into such a posture, that it might be able to repair any loss the king had received; which he might have done, if the jealousies and animosities between particular persons could have been reconciled, and a union been made amongst all men who pretended to wish, and really did wish, prosperity to the king's affairs; which were dis-

turbed, and even rendered desperate, by the intolerable pride and incorrigible faction of and between such persons. Notwithstanding the orders, which had been made by the commissioners of Devonshire, for distributing the contributions of that county, which have been mentioned before, and in which such a proportion was assigned for the maintenance of the forces before Plymouth, as in sir Richard Greenvil's own judgment was sufficient for them; he had still continued to levy the whole contribution, which he had done formerly, for six thousand foot, and twelve hundred horse; and said, "he could not submit to the other division and retrenchment; for that there was "nothing assigned, or left for the payment of his "men before Taunton." He was told by the commissioners, "that they were now a part of the "army, and lived as their fellows did; that they "had received no money from him since their "going thither, but had had free quarter as the rest "of the army; and that it would prove of ill conse-"quence, and beget a mutiny, if they should re-"ceive a weekly pay, when none of the rest did, "nor any army the king had in England: that he "could not but confess, by the state of the whole, "that the dispensation was very reasonable; and "that it could not be expected that the county "would be contented to pay their contribution for "the payment of foreign forces, when their own "garrisons, that were kept for their defence, "should be compelled, for want of pay, to disorders, "or to disband. But that, if he thought any thing "in those establishments unnecessary, or that he "thought provision could be otherwise made for "them, they would be contented that the overplus

" should be disposed as he desired." He answered none of their reasons; but positively said, " he would " spare none of the contributions formerly assigned " to him;" though the commissioners had the same authority now to take it away, as they had then to dispose it to him; and though it appeared to be assigned for the maintenance of so great a force, as was before spoken of, and upon his undertaking, under his hand, " to take the town before " Christmas-day."

When this account was presented to the prince, he found it necessary, and resolved, to confirm what was proposed by the commissioners, without which those garrisons could not be supported; yet deferred the settling thereof, till he came to Barnstable, being resolved speedily to go thither; and, before his coming thither, had sent to the commissioners both of Devon and Cornwall to attend him; which they did within a day or two after he came thither, together with sir John Berkley and sir Richard Greenvil. When we were at Barnstable, one day, the bishop of Salisbury came to us at council, and informed us that there was a young fellow who assumed too much license about the prince, one Wheeler, who, though he had no relation of service to king or prince, intruded himself with great boldness about his highness; that he was very debauched, and of so filthy a behaviour, that it was not to be spoken of; and that sir Hugh Windham had complained of some beastliness of his that was not to be named. Whereupon, after a long debate in the presence of his highness, it was unanimously resolved, that he should be forbid to come any more to court, or to reside in any place where the prince should be; for which pur-

pose he was sent for, and commanded accordingly to depart the town that time. The same night, about ten of the clock, sir Hugh Windham came to me to the governor's, and told me the prince had sent him to me, to give directions that Wheeler should be committed. I told him I thought he was gone out of the town; he replied, No, he saw him but now, and that, as he came up the street, Wheeler came to him, and threatened him to be revenged on him; and told him that he had spoken ill of the king, and that he had said, he would join with the prince against the king, and that he would cut the king's throat: which, he said, was an imputation of such a nature, that he desired he might be examined. I told him, I had never heard any such thing; but I would speak with the governor to send a guard to keep him that night, and that I would wait upon the prince the next morning for his commands. The next morning I went to court, the prince being then riding: he called to me, and commanded me that the business of Wheeler should be thoroughly examined. Thereupon, as soon as the council met, I acquainted their lordships with what had passed; who gave directions for Wheeler to be sent for; and we sent for the bishop of Salisbury to be present at the examination. When the young man came, we asked him what he had to accuse sir H. Windham of; and wished him to consider well what he spake, because his words could have little credit, since it was evident he spake out of revenge. He said, that about a month before, (and named the day,) he and sir H. Windham being together at such a place, sir H. Windham complained of the king, and said he served

the prince, and that, if the prince would take up arms to-morrow against the king, he would follow him. We asked him who heard it. He said, Mr. Rogers and Mr. Marsh; who being both sent for, and examined severally, seemed prepared beforehand on the behalf of Windham; Marsh saying, that he remembered nothing, nor took notice of what was said; the other confessing that sir H. Windham asked him, if the prince should take up arms against the king, what part he would take; but remembered no such expressions of Windham's as Wheeler accused him of. Upon the whole matter, my lords unanimously (except my lord Berkshire) advised the prince, in a business of so tender a nature, that he would not be too strict, and that, seeing sir H. Windham stood accused of so ill a carriage, and (though denied by him) that it appeared he had used very uncomely language and question by the confession of Rogers, that the former sentence upon Wheeler should be executed; and that sir H. Windham should likewise forbear coming near the prince, till the king should be acquainted with the whole business; and that Rogers and Marsh should for the present not come near the prince. This was thought a severe sentence against Windham, and drew very much malice from that family towards me; though truly, out of the knowledge that his mother had before used me ill, I proceeded in that business (lest I might be suspected of some passion) with the same candour as I would have done towards a brother.

The commissioners for Devon very earnestly pressed the settling the contributions in the manner before proposed, and the regulating the exor-

bitant power of sir Richard Greenvil, who raised what money he pleased, and committed what persons he pleased; and the commissioners from Cornwall presented a very sharp complaint against him, in the name of the whole county, for several exorbitances, and strange acts of tyranny exercised upon them: "that he had committed very many "honest substantial men, and all the constables of "the east part of the county, to Lydford prison in "Devonshire, for no offence, but to compel them "to ransom themselves for money; and that his "troopers had committed such outrages in the "county, that they had been compelled, in open "sessions, to declare against him; and to authorize "the county, in case that he should send his troops "in such manner, to rise, and beat them out;" which declaration was produced, signed by all the commissioners, who were most eminently and zealously affected to his majesty; and was indeed no other than a denouncing war against Greenvil; and was excused by them "as an act of necessity "to compose the people, who would otherwise in "the instant have risen, and cut the throats of all "his men." So that, whosoever would have made a judgment, upon what he heard from the commissioners of Devon and Cornwall at that time, must have concluded, that sir Richard Greenvil was the most justly odious to both counties, that can be imagined. And no doubt the man had behaved himself with great pride and tyranny over them; though the discipline he exercised over his men at Plymouth, in keeping them from committing any disorder, or offering the least prejudice to any man, (which, considering the vast assignment of money

he had, and the small numbers of men, was no hard matter to do,) had raised him much credit among the country people, who had lived long under the license of prince Maurice; and the fame of it had extended his reputation to a greater distance.

There hath been too much said already, to discover the nature and the temper of the man, if the current of this discourse did not make it absolutely necessary to mention many particulars, with which the prince was troubled almost in all places, and which exceedingly disordered the whole business of Devon and Cornwall; and, indeed, thereby the whole west. There was one particular that made a great noise in the country: shortly after he was deputed to that charge before Plymouth, upon the hurt of Mr. Digby, one Brabant, an attorney at law, (who had heretofore solicited the great suit against sir Richard in the star-chamber, on the behalf of his wife and the earl of Suffolk, living in those parts, and having always very honestly behaved himself towards the king's service,) knowing, it seems, the nature of the gentleman, resolved not to venture himself within the precincts where he commanded; and therefore intended to go to some more secure quarter; but was taken in his journey, having a mountero on his head, (sir Richard Grenvil having laid wait to apprehend him, and he accordingly concealing himself,) and being now brought before sir Richard, was immediately, by his own direction, without any council of war, because he said he was disguised, hanged as a spy: which seemed so strange and incredible, that one of the council asked him, "whether it was true?"

And he answered very unconcernedly, "Yes, he "had hanged him, for he was a traitor, and against "the king; and that he had taken a brother of his, "whom he might have hanged too, but he had "suffered him to be exchanged." He said, "he "knew the country talked, that he hanged him for "revenge, because he had solicited a cause against "him; but that was not the cause; though having "played the knave with him," he said smiling, "he was well content to find a just occasion to "punish him."

The prince was very unwilling to enter so far and so particularly upon the passionate complaint of either county, as thereby to be compelled to censure or to discountenance sir Richard Greenvil; who, he thought, might be applied very usefully to the public service. And therefore he resolved, according to the former design, to commit the business of Plymouth to sir John Berkley; who might, without any reproach to the other, discharge such from imprisonment as had lain long enough there, though faulty, and who made no other pretence to the contribution, than according to the assignments made by the commissioners; and to dispose sir Richard Greenvil to the field, according to his own proposition; for which there was now the more seasonable opportunity, the lord Goring having then written to the prince, "to desire him, that, "in regard very many of sir Richard Greenvil's "soldiers before Taunton were run away, insomuch "that of the two thousand two hundred brought "thither by him, there were not six hundred left, "and that there could be no such expedient to "bring them back, or to encourage the new levies,

" as by his presence in that army, that he would " send sir Richard Greenvil thither; where he " should command as field marshal:" to which purpose he had likewise written to sir Richard Greenvil, persuading him, " that he should fix a " quarter towards Lyme, and have the whole ma- " naging of that province:" and so a very good correspondence was begun between them. And thereupon, his commission of field marshal of the associated army was delivered to him, with direction, " in the mean time to abide with the lord " Goring;" who deputed him to command in the same place. It is true that he then desired, " to " continue the command before Plymouth *in com-* " *mendam*, and to execute the same by his major " general; but he was told, that it was otherwise " settled by his own proposition and advice, and " therefore that it could not be altered:" and indeed would have prevented the satisfaction, which was to be given to the two counties. Then he insisted very much upon some assignment of contribution for the army; for, he said, " he neither " would nor could command men who were not " paid." But after some sharp invectives against the excess and laziness of governors, and the needless contribution assigned to garrisons, finding that the subsistence for the army must be provided out of Somerset and Dorset, he took his leave of the prince; and, with his commission of field marshal, went to the lord Goring before Taunton; sir John Berkley being at the same time despatched to Plymouth.

About the beginning of July sir Thomas Fairfax entered into Somersetshire; so that general Goring

found it convenient to draw off from Taunton, and seemed to advance towards him, as if he intended to fight; fixing his quarters between the rivers about Lamport, very advantageously for defence, having a body of horse and foot very little inferior to the enemy, although by great negligence he had suffered his foot to moulder away before Taunton, for want of provisions, and countenance; when the horse enjoyed plenty, even to excess and riot. He had been there very few days, when the enemy, at noonday, fell into his quarters, upon a party of horse of above a thousand, commanded by lieutenant general Porter; who were so surprised, that though they were in a bottom, and could not but discern the enemy coming down the hill, half a mile at the least, yet the enemy was upon them before the men could get upon their horses, they being then feeding in a meadow; so that this body was entirely routed, and very many taken; and, the next day, notwithstanding all the advantages of passes, and places of advantage, another party of the enemy's horse and dragoons fell upon the whole army; routed it; took two pieces of cannon; and pursued Goring's men through Lamport, (a place, which if it had not been with great industry discountenanced and oppressed, as is said before, might well have secured his, and resisted their army,) and drove them to the walls of Bridgewater; whither the lord Goring in great disorder retired; and spending that night there, and leaving with them the cannon, ammunition, and carriages, and such soldiers as were desired, in equal disorder, the next day, he retired into Devonshire; the clubmen and country people infesting his march, and

knocking all stragglers, or wearied soldiers, on the head. Upon that rout, which was no less than a defeat of the whole army, the lord Goring retired to Barnstable: from whence (the prince being gone some days before to Launceston in Cornwall) he writ to the lord Digby, "that there was so great a "terror and distraction among his men, that he "was confident, at that present, they could not be "brought to fight against half their number." In the letter he writ, "that he had then" (being within three days after their rout, when very many stragglers were not come up) "between three and "four thousand foot," (prince Rupert's regiment being left in Bridgewater, consisting of above five hundred men, and two hundred in Burrow, and five and twenty hundred horse, besides sir Lewis Dives's regiment, and all the western horse,) so that, by this account, considering that there were not less than one thousand men killed, and taken prisoners, in those two unlucky days, and that very many were run to Bristol, and others not come to him, it appears, that, when he rose from Taunton, he had a strength little inferior to the enemy.

Sir Thomas Fairfax then no more considered this running away, but left them to refresh, and recover themselves without the least pursuit; whilst he himself intended the recovery of Bridgewater; which was exceedingly wondered at; though it was quickly discerned, he had good reason to stop there. In the mean time general Goring spent his time at Barnstable, and those parts adjacent; his army quartering at Torrington, and over the whole north of Devon, and his horse committing such intolerable insolences and disorders, as alienated the hearts

of those who were best affected to the king's service. Instead of endeavouring to recruit his army, or to put himself in a readiness and posture to receive the enemy, he suffered all, who had a mind, to depart; insomuch, as he writ to the lord Colepepper, on the 27th of July, "that he had not "above thirteen hundred foot left." When he was at Barnstable, he gave himself his usual license of drinking; and then, inveighing against the prince's council, said, "he would justify that they had been "the cause of the loss of the west;" inveighing likewise in an unpardonable dialect against the person of the king, and discoursing much of the revenge he would take upon those who had affronted him: and in this manner he entertained himself to the end of July, writing letters of discontent to the prince, and the lords; one day complaining for want of money, and desiring the prince to supply that want, when he well knew he wanted supply for his own table; and never received penny of the public collections or contributions: another day, desiring, "that all straggling soldiers might "be sent out of Cornwall, and drawn from the "garrisons, that he might advance upon the "enemy;" and the next day proposing, "that all "the foot might be put into garrisons, for that "they could not be fit for the field;" so that before an answer could be sent to his last letter, another commonly arrived of a different temper.

Sir Richard Greenvil grew again no less troublesome and inconvenient than the lord Goring. He had left the prince at Barnstable, well pleased with his commission of field marshal, and more that he should command alone the blocking up of Lyme;

which, he resolved, should bring him in plenty of money; and in order to that, it was agreed, that on such a day appointed, "so many men from the "garrisons of Dartmouth, Exeter, and Barnstable, "should be drawn to Tiverton; where they should "receive orders from sir Richard Greenvil, and "join with such as he should bring from the lord "Goring, for making a quarter towards Lyme;" and orders issued from his highness accordingly. Those from Exeter, according to order, appeared at the time; and those from Barnstable and Dartmouth marched a day's journey and more towards Tiverton; but then, hearing that the lord Goring was risen from Taunton, which was true, though he returned thither the next day, made a halt; and sent back to the prince for orders; who conceived that, upon the rising of the lord Goring; the design of fixing a quarter upon Lyme would be disappointed, and that it would be necessary to strengthen Barnstable, where his own person was; [and] recalled those men back thither; having despatched letters to sir Richard Greenvil, to acquaint him with the accidents that had diverted those from Dartmouth and Barnstable; but letting him know, "that, if "the design held, those of Barnstable should meet, "where and when he would appoint."

Sir Richard Greenvil took an occasion, from the soldiers failing to meet, at the day appointed, at Tiverton, (though if they had met, there could have been no progress in the former design,) to exclaim against the prince's council; and, the next day, in a cover directed to Mr. Fanshaw, who was secretary of the council, without any letter, returned the commission of field marshal, formerly given him by

the prince; and within two or three days after, on the fifth of July, he sent a very insolent letter to the lords of the council, complaining of "many "undeserved abuses offered to him;" implying, "that the same were fastened on him by them, on "the behalf of sir John Berkley;" told them, "that when they moved him to give over the "command of Plymouth to sir John Berkley, they "had promised him the principal command of the "army under the prince:" whereas the truth is before set down, that the proposition was made by himself, both of quitting that charge, and of sir John Berkley's taking it, as the only fit person. He said, "he had hitherto served the king upon "his own charge, and upon his own estate, without "any allowance; and that, when he went from "Barnstable, he was promised a protection for his "house and estate; but when, after he was gone, "his servant brought a protection ready drawn, all "the clauses that comprehended any thing of favour "were left out; and such a protection sent to him "as he cared not for." He concluded, "that he "would serve as a volunteer, till he might have "opportunity to acquaint his majesty with his "sufferings." Here it will be necessary, upon the mention of this protection, (which he took so ill to be denied,) and the mention of serving the king, without allowance, upon his own estate, which he very often and very insolently objected both in his letters, and in his discourse to the prince himself, to say somewhat of his estate, and what small allowance he had from the king for his service.

When he came first into that country, he had no command at all; armed only with a commission to

raise a regiment of horse, and a regiment of foot; of which he never raised horse or man, till long after, that he came to the command of Plymouth. Estate he had none, either there, or, that I have heard, any where else. It is true, his wife had an estate, of about five hundred pounds a year, about Tavistock and other parts of Devon; but it is as true, that it was conveyed before marriage, as hath been said, in such a manner, to friends in trust, that upon long suits in chancery, and in other courts, in the time of peace, there were several judgments and decrees in chancery against him. So that he had never, since the difference with his wife, which was many years before, received the least benefit or advantage from it. The first thing the king granted to him was the sequestration of all his wife's estate to his own use, (she living then in the rebels' quarters,) upon which title he settled himself in her house near Tavistock; and, by virtue of that grant, took all the stock upon the ground; and compelled the tenants to pay to him all the arrears of rent, or as much as he said was in arrear; which amounted to a very considerable value. When colonel Digby received his unfortunate hurt, which rendered him for that time uncapable to exercise his command, sir John Berkley very earnestly, and he only, moved prince Maurice, to confer that charge upon sir Richard Greenvil; and, though it was within a county of which he himself had the principal charge as colonel general, procured a full commission for the other to command those forces in chief; and delivered, or sent the same to him; having, from the time of his first coming down, used him with marvellous kindness. He had not

then commanded long, when the earl of Essex came into those parts; whereupon he was compelled to rise; and after joined with the king.

When the earl of Essex's forces were dissolved, he was again designed for that service; and before the king left the country, he granted him the sequestration of all the estate of the earl of Bedford in Devonshire, all the estate of sir Francis Drake (by which he had Buckland Monachorum, which was his quarter whilst he blocked up Plymouth; and Worrington by Launceston) in Devon, and the lord Roberts's estate in Cornwall; all which, and his wife's estate, he enjoyed by the sequestration granted from his majesty, and of which he made a greater revenue than ever the owners did in time of peace. For, besides that he suffered no part of these estates to pay contribution, (whereby the tenants very willingly paid their full rents,) he kept very much ground, about all the houses, in his own hands; which he stocked with such cattle as he took from delinquents; for though he suffered not his soldiers to plunder, yet he was, in truth, himself the greatest plunderer of this war; for whenever any person had disobeyed, or neglected any of his warrants, or when any man failed to appear at the *posse*, (which he summoned very frequently after he was sheriff of Devon, and for no other end but the penalty of defaulters,) he sent presently a party of horse to apprehend their persons, and to drive their grounds. If the persons were taken, they were very well content to remit their stock to redeem their persons. For the better disposing them whereto, he would now and then hang a constable, or some other poor fellow, for those faults of which

a hundred were as guilty: and if, out of the terror of this kind of his justice, men hid themselves from being apprehended, they durst not send to require their stock; which was from thence quietly enjoyed: so that he had a greater stock of cattle, of all sorts, upon his grounds, than any person whatsoever in the west of England. Besides this, the ordering of delinquents' estates in those parts being before that time not well looked to, by virtue of these sequestrations, he seized upon all the stock upon the grounds, upon all the furniture in the several houses, and compelled the tenants to pay to him all the rents due from the beginning of the rebellion. By these, and such like means, he had not only a vast stock, but received great sums of money, and had as great store of good householdstuff, as would furnish well those houses he looked upon as his own. And this was his own estate, upon which, he said, he had maintained himself, without any allowance from the king; which, I am confident, besides what he got by his contributions, which would always pay double the men he had, and were strictly levied, and by his other arts, and extortions of several kinds, was more and more worth in money to him, than his majesty bestowed upon all his general commanders of armies, and upon all his officers of state, since the beginning of the rebellion to that time. This computation would seem too enviously made, if I should proceed here to take any view of the services he ever did; and therefore (though they that are very good witnesses say, that notwithstanding all the bold promises of taking Plymouth within few days, "his farthest "guards were never nearer the town, than the lord

" Hopton's head quarter was the first day that he " came thither") I shall leave that to other men to make the estimate.

Now when sir Richard Greenvil desired at Barnstable a protection for his houses and estates, it was conceived, that he apprehended there might, under pretence of claim, some attempt be made upon his stock by the owners; or that he feared, that there might be too strict an inquiry, by him that succeeded, for such things as, being designed for the public service, had been applied to his particular private use; as having, with great importunity, (as a thing upon which the service depended,) gotten from the commissioners of Devon above a thousand deal-boards, to make huts for the soldiers, he employed them all in the building a great riding-house at Buckland, for his own pleasure. However, so severe and terrible a person might easily be thought liable to many trespasses, when he should be removed from the place where he governed so absolutely. The protection was no sooner asked by him, than promised by the prince; but, after his departure, his servant bringing such a protection drawn, as exempted all those estates, which the king had granted to him in sequestration, from the payment of any contributions, (the which had been already so scandalous, that most of the principal persons of Cornwall had by that example, and with indignation at it, forborne to pay their rates; and he was told the ill consequence of it; and, " that no person there in council, whereof " some had had very much greater commands in " armies than he, and though others thought their " services deserved any reasonable privilege, had

" been ever freed from contribution,") and thereupon those clauses were struck out, and the protection, in a fuller manner than ordinary, signed by the prince; and sir John Berkley, then present, declared, (of which his servant was advertised, though it was not fit, for the example, to put it in writing,) " that he would not require any contri-
" bution for that estate which was his wife's, and
" enjoyed by him though by virtue of the seques-
" tration;" and the denying of this protection was his great grievance. And yet (but that was an act of his own sovereignty) he did not only never pay a penny contribution before, or after, for all these estates, but refused to pay the fee-farm rent, due to the king out of the earl of Bedford's estate, being two hundred marks *per annum*, though the auditor was sent to him to demand it.

After this angry letter to the lords, and the throwing up his commission without a letter, and so having no commission at all to meddle in martial affairs, he fixed a quarter, with his own horse and foot, at St. Mary Ottree, within [nine or ten] miles of Exeter; where he governed as imperiously as ever; raised what money he would, and imprisoned what persons he would. In the end, sir John Berkley, having appointed the constables of those hundreds which were assigned for Plymouth, to bring in their accounts of what money they had paid to sir Richard Greenvil, (which, he protested, he did only that thereby he might state the arrears, without the least thought of reproach to the other,) he caused a warrant to be read in all churches in the county, (that is, ordered it to be read in all, and in some it was read,) " that all persons should

" bring him an account of what monies or goods " had been plundered from them by sir John Berk- " ley, or any under him ;" with several clauses very derogatory to his reputation. This, as it could not otherwise, begat great resentments ; insomuch as the commissioners of Devon sent an express to the prince, who was then in Cornwall, beseeching him " to call sir Richard Greenvil from thence, and to " take some order for the suppressing the furious " inclinations of both sides, or else they appre- " hended, the enemy would quickly take an advan- " tage of those dissensions, and invade the country " before they otherwise intended ;" and, in their letter, sent one of the warrants that sir Richard had caused to be read in the churches ; which indeed was the strangest I ever saw.

Hereupon, the prince sent for sir Richard Greenvil to attend him ; who accordingly came to him at Liskard ; where his highness told him " the " sense he had of his disrespect towards him, in " the sending back his commission in that manner ; " and of his carriage after ;" and asked him, " what authority he now had either to command " men, or to publish such warrants ?" He answered, " that he was high sheriff of Devon, and by virtue " of that office he might suppress any force, or " inquire into any grievance his county suffered ; " and, as far as in him lay, give them remedy." He was told, " as sheriff he had no power to raise " or head men, otherwise than by the *posse comi-* " *tatus ;* which he could not upon his own head " raise, without warrant from the justices of peace : " that, in these martial times, he was to receive " orders, upon occasions, from the commander in

" chief of the king's forces; who had authority to " command him by his commission." He was asked, " what he himself would have done, if, " when he commanded before Plymouth, the high " sheriff of Cornwall should have caused such a " warrant concerning him to be read in churches?" He answered little to the questions, but sullenly extolled his services, and enlarged his sufferings. Afterwards, being reprehended with more sharpness than ever before, and being told, " that, what- " ever discourses he made of spending his estate, " it was well understood, that he had no estate by " any other title than the mere bounty of the king; " that he had been courted by the prince more " than he had reason to expect; and that he had " not made those returns on his part which became " him; in short, if he had inclination to serve his " highness, he should do it in that manner he " should be directed; if not, he should not, under " the title of being sheriff, satisfy his own pride " and passion:" (upon which reprehension being much gentler, than upon all the gracious addresses which had been made to him,) he answered, " he " would serve the prince in such manner as he " should command;" and thereupon he was discharged, and returned to his house to Worrington, one of those places he had by sequestration, (it belonged to sir Francis Drake,) where he lived privately, for the space of a fortnight, or thereabouts, without interposing in the public business. Let us now see how this tragedy was acted in other places.

We left the king at Hereford, not resolved what course to steer: prince Rupert gone to Bristol,

from whence he made a short visit to the prince at Barnstable, to give him an account of the ill posture he had left the king in, and from thence went to his friend Goring to consult with him: and it was exceedingly wondered at, that when he saw in what condition he was, (for he was then before Taunton,) and the number of his horse and foot, (which every body then thought had been his business to be informed of,) he did not then hasten advice to the king, for his speedy repair thither; but his chief care was to secure Bristol; which, sure, at that time he made not the least question of doing; and believed the winter would come seasonably for future counsels.

The king quickly left Hereford, and went to meet the commissioners for South Wales at Abergaveny, the chief town in Monmouthshire. And as they were for the most part persons of the best quality, and the largest fortunes of those counties, so they had manifested great loyalty and affection, from the beginning of the war, by sending many good regiments to the army, and with their sons, and brothers, and nearest kindred; many of whom had lost their lives bravely in the field: and they now made as large and ample professions as ever, and seemed to believe, that they should be able, in a very short time, to raise a good army of foot, with which the king might again look upon the enemy; and accordingly agreed what numbers should be levied upon each of the counties. And so from thence his majesty went to Ragland-castle, the magnificent house of the marquis of Worcester; and which was well fortified, and garrisoned by him; who remained then in it. And there he

resolved to stay, till he should see the effect of the commissioners' mighty promises. But he found in a short time, that, either by the continued successes of the parliament armies in all places, the particular information whereof was every day brought to them, by intelligence from their friends, or the triumphs of their enemies in Monmouth and Glou-cester, or by the renewed smart, which the presence of their governor, general Gerrard, gave them, (who had been, and continued to be, a passionate and unskilful cultivator of the affections of the people; as having governed them with extra-ordinary rigour, and with as little courtesy and civility towards the gentry, as towards the com-mon people,) there was little probability of rais-ing an army in those parts: where all men grew less affected, or more frighted, which pro-duced one and the same effect. The king stayed at Ragland, till the news came "that Fairfax, "after he had taken Leicester," (which could not hold out longer than to make honourable con-ditions,) "was marched into the west, and had "defeated Goring's troops at Lamport; and at the "same time, that the Scottish army was upon its "march towards Worcester, having taken a little "garrison that lay between Hereford and Worces-"ter by storm; and put all within it to the sword." And prince Rupert sent for all those foot which were levied towards a new army, and part of those which belonged to general Gerrard, to supply the garrison of Bristol: so that his majesty seemed now to have nothing in his choice, but to transport himself over the Severn to Bristol, and thence to have repaired to his army in the west; which would

have been much better done before, yet had been well done then; and the king resolved to do so; and that the horse under Gerrard and Langdale should find a transportation over Severn, (which was very easy to be done,) and so would as easily find the way to him, wherever he should be.

And this was so fully resolved, that his majesty went to the water-side near Chepstow; where vessels were ready to transport him, and where prince Rupert from Bristol met him, very well pleased with the resolution he had taken, though he had not been privy to the counsel. And here again the unhappy discord in the court raised new obstructions; they who did not love prince Rupert, nor were loved by him, could not endure to think that the king should be so wholly within his power; and he himself was far from being importunate that [his majesty] should prosecute his purpose, which he had not advised, though he liked it well enough; and so would not be answerable for any success. His majesty himself being too irresolute, the counsel was again changed, and the king marched to Cardiff; where he had been very little time, when he was informed, that Bridgewater was lost: and then they, who had dissuaded the king's embarkation for Bristol, were much exalted, and thought themselves good counsellors; though, in truth, the former resolution had been even then much better pursued; for nothing could have hindered his majesty from going to Exeter, and joining all his forces; which would have put him in a posture much better than he was ever afterwards. Indeed the taking Bridgewater, which the king had been persuaded to believe a place impregnable, could not

but make great impressions upon him, to think that he was betrayed, and consequently not to know whom to trust. It was in truth matter of amazement to all men, nor was it any excuse, that it was not of strength enough against so strong an army; for it was so strongly situated, and it might well have had all those additions which were necessary, by fortifications, that it was inexcusable in a governor, (who had enjoyed that charge above three years, with all allowances he had himself desired, and had often assured the king, "that it "was not to be taken,") that it was not able to resist any strength that could come before it for one week; and within less than that time, it was surrendered, and put into Fairfax's hands.

That this prodigious success should break the spirits of most men, and even cast them into despair, is not at all to be wondered at; but that it should raise the hopes of any that it would produce a peace, is very strange; yet this imagination did so much harm, that men generally neglected to make that preparation against a powerful and insulting enemy, that was in their power to have made, out of confidence that the offer of a treaty would now prevail, and produce a peace; and every man abounded so much in his own sense, that they were not capable of any reason that contradicted it. The commissioners of all counties, which were the best gentlemen, and of best affections, upon whom the king depended to apply the common people to his service, were so fully of this opinion, that they made cabals with the principal officers of the army, to concur with them in this judgment, and to contrive some way how it might be brought to pass;

and too many of them were weary of doing their duty, or so much ashamed of not having done it, that they professed themselves to desire it, at least as much as the rest. And this temper spread itself so universally, that it reached to prince Rupert himself; who writ his advice to that purpose to the duke of Richmond, to be presented to the king; who took that occasion to write the ensuing letter to the prince, with his own hand; which was so lively an expression of his own soul, that no pen else could have written it, and deserves to be transmitted to posterity, as a part of the portraiture of that incomparable king, which hath been disguised by false or erroneous copies from the true original; which was in these words.

*From Cardiff in the beginning of the month of Aug.* 1645.

" Nephew,

" This is occasioned by a letter of yours, that " the duke of Richmond shewed me yesternight. " And first, I assure you, I have been, and ever " will be, very careful to advertise you of my re- " solutions, as soon as they are taken; and if I " enjoined silence to that which was no secret, it " was not my fault; for I thought it one, and I am " sure it ought to have been so now. As for the " opinion of my business, and your counsel there- " upon, if I had any other quarrel but the defence " of my religion, crown, and friends, you had full " reason for your advice. For I confess, that speak- " ing either as to mere soldier or statesman, I " must say, there is no probability but of my ruin; " but as to Christian, I must tell you, that God

" will not suffer rebels to prosper, or his cause to
" be overthrown: and whatsoever personal punish-
" ment it shall please him to inflict upon me, must
" not make me repine, much less to give over this
" quarrel; which, by the grace of God, I am re-
" solved against, whatsoever it cost me; for I
" know my obligations to be both in conscience
" and honour, neither to abandon God's cause,
" injure my successors, nor forsake my friends.
" Indeed I cannot flatter myself with expectation
" of good success, more than this, to end my days
" with honour, and a good conscience; which
" obliges me to continue my endeavour, as not
" despairing that God may in due time avenge his
" own cause. Though I must avow to all my
" friends, that he that will stay with me at this
" time, must expect, and resolve, either to die for
" a good cause, or, which is worse, to live as
" miserable in the maintaining it, as the violence
" of insulting rebels can make him. Having thus
" truly and impartially stated my case unto you,
" and plainly told you my positive resolutions,
" which, by the grace of God, I will not alter,
" they being neither lightly nor suddenly grounded,
" I earnestly desire you not in any ways to hearken
" after treaties; assuring you, as low as I am, I
" will not go less than what was offered in my
" name at Uxbridge; confessing that it were as
" great a miracle that they should agree to so
" much reason, as that I should be, within a
" month, in the same condition that I was imme-
" diately before the battle of Naseby. Therefore,
" for God's sake, let us not flatter ourselves with
" these conceits; and, believe me, the very ima-

" gination that you are desirous of a treaty, will
" lose me so much the sooner. Wherefore, as you
" love me, whatsoever you have already done,
" apply your discourse according to my resolutions
" and judgment. As for the Irish, I assure you
" they shall not cheat me; but it is possible they
" may cozen themselves: for be assured, what I
" have refused to the English, I will not grant to
" the Irish rebels, never trusting to that kind of
" people (of what nature soever) more than I see
" by their actions; and I am sending to Ormond
" such a despatch, as I am sure will please you,
" and all honest men; a copy whereof, by the
" next opportunity, you shall have. Lastly, be
" confident I would not have put you, nor myself,
" to the trouble of this letter, had I not a great
" estimation of you, and a full confidence of your
" friendship to

" Your &c."

When the king came to Cardiff, he was entertained with the news, " that the Scottish army was
" set down before Hereford, and that, if it were not
" relieved within a month, it must fall into their
" hands." To provide for this, there could be no better way found out, than to direct the sheriffs of those Welsh counties to summon their *posse comitatus*, whereby the king was persuaded to hope, that there would be men enough to wait upon him in that expedition; who, with the horse he had, would have been equal to any attempt they could make upon the Scots. But it was quickly discovered, that this expedient had raised an unruly spirit, that could not easily be suppressed again;

for the discontented gentlemen of those counties, now they had gotten the people legally together, put them in mind of "the injuries they had re-"ceived from general Gerrard, and the intolerable "exactions they lay under, which would undoubt-"edly be increased, if he continued in that go-"vernment." So that, instead of providing men to march with the king, they provided a long list of grievances; from all which they desired to be relieved before they would apply themselves towards the relief of Hereford. All this was so sturdily urged, that a body of no less than four thousand men, of those who were thus called together, continued together many days, and would not be separated, till the king was even compelled to give them satisfaction in the particular they most insisted upon; which was the removal of general Gerrard from having any command over them; and that charge was presently conferred upon the lord Astley, the major general of the army; who was most acceptable to them; and they afterwards conformed themselves as much to his directions, as from the distraction of the time, and the continual ill successes, could be expected by him.

But it was the hard fate of the king, that he could not provide what was fit for his own service, except he provided likewise for the satisfaction of other men's humours and appetites. Gerrard had now, upon the matter, the command of all the forces the king had to trust to [in those parts]; and he was of too impetuous a nature, to submit to any thing for conscience, or discretion, or duty; so that the king was compelled to satisfy his ambi-

tion for this present degradation, by making him a baron; and, which was an odd and a very fantastical circumstance that attended it, for no other reason, than because there was once an eminent person, called Charles Brandon, who was afterwards made a duke, he would be created baron of Brandon, that there might be another Charles Brandon, who had no less aspiring thoughts than the other; when he had no pretence to the lands of Brandon; which belonged to, and were, at that time, in the possession of a gallant and worthy gentleman, sir Thomas Glemham; who at the same time (very unluckily) came to the king at Cardiff, with about two hundred foot, which he had brought with him out of the garrison of Carlisle; which place he had defended for the space of eleven months against David Lesley, and till all the horses of the garrison were eaten, and then had rendered, upon as honourable conditions, as had been given upon any surrender; David Lesley himself conveyed him to Hereford; where he joined with the other part of that army, and from thence sir Thomas Glemham (who was by his conditions to march to the king wherever he was) came to his majesty at Cardiff, at the time when the title of his own land, which he inherited as heir to the family of Brandon, was conferred upon a gentleman (how well extracted soever) of less quality and fortune, and, as many thought, merit. And this unseasonable preferment more irritated the country, from which the king then expected assistance, that when they believed they had accused him of crimes which deserved the highest censure, they saw him pretend to, and rewarded in, an higher degree than he could

ever probably have arrived to, but for that accusation. And so the king, after all his endeavours were rendered fruitless, entertained a new imagination, that he might get into Scotland to the marquis of Mountrose, who had done wonders there; and thereupon left Cardiff; and, over the mountains by Brecknock and Radnor, passed the Scottish quarters, and came to Ludlow, before that army had any notice of his march.

When the king came first to Ragland, he had sent an express to the prince, by which he wished "that the lord Colepepper, and the chancellor of "the exchequer, might, as soon as was possible, "attend his majesty." The danger of the way was such, and the passage so difficult, that the messenger came not quickly to his highness. But the chancellor being then unfit to travel by reason of the gout, the lord Colepepper made all possible haste out of Cornwall, where the prince then was, and found his majesty at Cardiff, when he was departing from thence; and waited on him to Brecknock; from whence he was again despatched with this letter to the prince; which, being the first direction the king gave of that nature, is necessary to be here inserted in so many words.

*Brecknock, 5th August,* 1645.

"Charles,

"It is very fit for me now to prepare for the "worst, in order to which I spoke with Colepepper "this morning concerning you; judging it fit to "give it you under my hand, that you may give "the readier obedience to it. Wherefore know "that my pleasure is, whensoever you find your-

" self in apparent danger of falling into the rebels'
" hands, that you convey yourself into France, and
" there to be under your mother's care; who is to
" have the absolute full power of your education in
" all things, except religion; and in that, not to
" meddle at all, but leave it entirely to the care of
" your tutor, the bishop of Salisbury, (or to whom
" he shall appoint to supply his place, in time of
" his necessitated absence.) And for the per-
" formance of this, I command you to require the
" assistance and obedience of all your council;
" and, by their advice, the service of every one
" whom you and they shall think fit to be employed
" in this business; which I expect should be per-
" formed, if need require, with all obedience, and
" without grumbling. This being all at this time,
" from

" Your loving father, *Charles R.*"

After the lord Goring had lain some time in the ill humour we left him at Barnstable, he entered into correspondence with sir Richard Greenvil; who, he knew well, was as uninclined to the council about the prince as himself; and finding that the enemy troubled him not, but had given him rest, whilst the army was employed upon other important service, they two met privately; and, upon the encouragement and money he received from Greenvil, he writ to the chancellor a very cheerful and a very long letter, bearing date the first of August, in which he inserted several propositions; which, he said, had been framed " upon conference with
" sir Richard Greenvil; which he desired might
" be presented to the prince; and if they should

" be consented to, and confirmed by his high-
" ness, he said, he would engage his life, that
" he would in a very short time have an army of
" ten or twelve thousand men, that should march
" whithersoever they should be commanded; and
" should be in as good order, as any army in the
" world:" and concluded his letter with these words; " I see some light now of having a brave
" army very speedily of foot, and I am sending a
" copy of this enclosed letter to the king, with this
" profession, that I will be content to lose my life,
" and my honour, if we do not perform our parts,
" if these demands be granted."

This letter being presented to his highness, then at Launceston, found so gracious a reception, that the next day, being the second of August, the prince returned him an answer of full consent; and the same day signed all the particulars proposed by him; expressing a further resolution " to add
" whatever else should be proposed to him, and
" within his power to grant;" so that there was once more a hope of looking the enemy in the face, and having a fair day for the west. The next day, or thereabouts, sir Richard Greenvil himself attended the prince, in a seeming good humour; all the propositions were immediately confirmed; some of which were, " that sir Richard Greenvil should
" receive such a proportion of the contributions of
" Cornwall, and five thousand pounds of the arrears,
" for the payment of the officers of the army; and
" thereupon sir Richard would gather up all the
" stragglers, who were returned into Cornwall from
" their colours; who, he said, would amount to three
" thousand foot, and he would raise three thousand

" foot more in Devonshire." So he betook himself again to action, sending out his warrants, and levying men and money; having lent two hundred pounds to the lord Goring at their first meeting, and calling the *posse* of Devon to meet at several places, where himself was still present; by which, he pretended, he should speedily recruit the army. But before the end of August, that friendship grew colder; sir Richard observing a better correspondence between the lord Goring and sir John Berkley than he hoped would have been, and hearing that the lord Goring used to mention him very slightly, (which I believe was true,) he writ a very sharp letter to him, in which he said, " he " would have no more to do with him." However he continued as active as before, being now in Devon, and then in Cornwall, where he commanded absolutely without any commission, and very seasonably suppressed an insurrection about St. Ives, which might else have grown to a head; and hanged two or three fellows, who, I believe, were guilty enough, by his own order, without any council of war; and raised what money he pleased upon others; then returned to his house at Worrington. And all the vivacity that had so lately appeared in the lord Goring, upon the news of the loss of Sherborne, declined; and then there was nothing, but complaint of want of money, and a proposition to put the army into garrisons; and yet the enemy gave them the same leisure, to pursue the former design, Fairfax being then engaged with his army before Bristol.

As soon as the prince, who was then at Launceston, had read the letter, which the lord Cole-

pepper brought to him from the king, he returned it to the lord Colepepper to keep, and to communicate to the lords Capel, Hopton, and the chancellor of the exchequer; for it was a very great misfortune, that there was not so good correspondence with the earl of Berkshire (through some jealousies that were infused into him) as was desired; and from the prince's first coming into Cornwall, some of his servants of the best quality, who had from the beginning been discontented, and upon strange pretences thought themselves undervalued that they were not of the council, and, since the king's misfortune at Naseby, expressed their indispositions with more license, and whispered abroad, "that there was a purpose to carry "the prince into France," not that they believed it, but thereby thought to render the council odious and suspected, and had wrought so far upon the earl of Berkshire, that he seemed to believe it too, and thereby they got so much interest in him, that he always communicated whatsoever passed in council to them; so that a letter of so great importance was not thought fit to be communicated to him, nor to the earl of Brentford, who (though he was very kind and just to the other four) was not without his jealousies, and was an ill treasurer of secrets. They were very much troubled at the sight of the letter, not at the command of leaving the kingdom, for, though they had never communicated their thoughts to each other upon that subject before, they found themselves unanimous in the resolution, "that rather than he should be "taken by the rebels, they would carry him into "any part of the Christian world." For the better

doing whereof, from that minute, they took care that there was always a ship ready in the harbour of Falmouth. But it troubled them, "that the "king's command was so positive for France, "against which they could make to themselves "many objections." Besides that, one of the prince's bedchamber, who was newly returned from Paris, brought a letter from the earl of Norwich, then the king's ambassador there, to one of the council; in which taking notice of a report there of the prince of Wales's coming thither, he passionately declared against it, "as a certain ruin to "the prince;" of which the messenger, (col. Murray,) by his direction, gave many instances of moment. And they were the more troubled, because the lord Colepepper, who brought that letter from the king, averred, "that he had had no conference with the "king upon the argument, but had wholly declined "it, as a matter too great for him:" so that they had nothing before them but that letter. After two or three sad debates between themselves, they agreed upon "a letter to be prepared in cipher, "presenting their reasons, and what they had been "informed concerning France; and therefore "offered it to his majesty, whether he would not "leave the [choice of the] place to them, or nomi-"nate some other, against which so many excep-"tions might not be made; and proposed Ireland, "(if the peace were made there,) or Scotland, if the "marquis of Mountrose was as victorious as he "was reported to be; withal assuring his majesty, "that, in case of danger, they would run any "hazard, or into any country, before the prince "should fall into the hands of the rebels." This

letter, after it was communicated with the prince, as the debates had been, was forthwith sent by an express.

Towards the end of August, the lord Goring, after he had, in all his secret discourses, and in the hours of his jollity, spoken very bitterly of the council about the prince, as the authors of all the miscarriages, sent the lord Wentworth to Launceston to his highness, with certain demands, as he called them, on his behalf; but with direction, "that before he presented them to the "prince, he should communicate them to the "lord Colepepper, or to the chancellor, and be "advised by them, in what manner to present "them."

His demands were, and so he styled them, 1. To have a commission to be lieutenant general of all the west, and to command immediately under the prince, garrisons as well as the army, and to be sworn of the council as soon as might be. 2. That all commissions to officers of the army, when his highness is present, be given by the prince; but that his highness should sign none but such as he should prepare for him. 3. That in the prince's absence he should sign and grant all commissions; and that, if any governments of towns should fall vacant, he might have the absolute recommendation of those that are to succeed, or, at least, a negative voice. 4. That all designs of consequence should be debated, in the prince's presence, by the prince's council, and such officers of the army as he should choose to assist at it. 5. That the number of the prince's guards should be limited; and many other particulars, which seemed so unreason-

able, and unfit to be publicly urged, that the lord Colepepper persuaded the lord Wentworth to suspend the presenting them; "the rather," (as he said,) "because the chancellor was then absent," (being sent by his highness to Pendennis-castle, under pretence of giving some direction in the matter of the customs, but, in truth, to take care that the frigate provided for the prince's transportation might be in readiness, and victuals be privately made ready, to be presently put on board, when the occasion should require,) "and likewise "because his highness intended to be shortly at "Exeter, where the lord Goring, being present, "might better consider, and debate his own busi-"ness;" to the which the lord Wentworth consented:

For the commissioners of Devon had besought his highness to interpose his authority, in the regulating and disposing the army to march towards the relief of Bristol; declaring, "as the posture of "it then was, that both that county, and garrisons, "must in a short time be as much undone, and "lost by them, as by the invasion of the enemy; "that all the foot subsisted by, and lived upon, "the magazines of the garrisons; and the horse "possessed the other part of the country to them-"selves; and would neither suffer provisions to be "brought to the markets, for the replenishing their "stores, nor any warrants to be executed for any "payments; pretending they were to defend their "own quarters; whilst themselves levied what "monies they pleased, and committed all sorts of "insolences and outrages." And by this means both before in Somersetshire, and afterwards in

Devonshire, when the king's army was forced to retire, the enemy found great plenty of provisions in those quarters, where his forces were in danger of starving: as, all about Taunton, there were very great quantities of corn, when they caused all their bread to be brought out of the stores of Bridgewater and Exeter; which proceeded partly from the negligence and laziness of the officers and soldiers, who would not be at the trouble of threshing out the mows and ricks which were there; but principally by the protection given by the horse; who would not suffer any thing to be carried out of their quarters; and such as sent their provisions to market, were sure to have their money taken from them in their return. Insomuch as it was affirmed by the commissioners of Exeter, "that "before the enemy had any quarter within ten "miles, there was not so much provision brought "into that city in a fortnight, as they spent in a "day:" which was only by reason of the disorder of our own horse, general Goring being all this time in Exeter, breaking jests, and laughing at all people, who brought complaints to him; as, one day, when all the fishermen complained to him, "that as they came to the market, they were "robbed by his troopers, who took all their fish "from them," he said, "that they might by this "see what great injury was done to his men, by "those who accused them of so great swearing; "for if they did swear, you know (said he) they "could catch no fish."

Upon these reasons, and the very earnest desire of the lord Goring and the commissioners, the prince, on Friday the 29th of August, went from

Launceston to Exeter in one day; leaving sir Richard Greenvil (who then seemed to be in good humour) to bring up the soldiers in Cornwall, and to hasten his levies in the north and west parts of Devon. The army having now lain still from the beginning of July to the end of August, without the least action, or alarm from the enemy, and so being sufficiently refreshed, and, as their officers said, awakened to a sense and a shame of their former amazements, it was unanimously agreed at a council of war, his highness being present, "that "the foot should presently advance to Tiverton; "and the horse to the east of Exeter; and that, "as soon as sir Richard Greenvil could come up "with his men, they should all advance to the "relief of Bristol;" which was understood to be in a very good condition; the last messenger that came thence assuring the prince, as from prince Rupert, that he was sufficiently provided with all necessaries for six months.

There had been, from the time of the first going of the prince into Cornwall, several rumours dispersed, [as hath been said,] by those who were discontented or angry with the council, "that there "was an intent to carry the prince into France;" which begot infinite prejudice to all that was advised. Of this discourse general Goring had made great use, to the disadvantage of all those whom he desired to discredit, which was indeed one of the motives of his highness's journey to Exeter, that he might discountenance that report; which wrought so far amongst the gentlemen of the several western counties, who were resorted thither for safety, that there was a resolution "to petition the

" prince to interpose between the king and the par-
" liament; and to send a message to the latter
" with overtures of peace:" and, to that purpose, meetings had been amongst those gentlemen, to agree upon what articles the prince should propose a peace; every man declaring his opinion, what condescension should be in the matter of the church, of the militia, and of Ireland, upon consideration of what had passed at Uxbridge. When my lords of the council heard of these consultations, they apprehended great inconveniences might arise from thence to the king's service, and to the prince's honour; who, by being pressed by their desires and importunities, would lose the honour and thanks of the good success that might attend it: besides that, if he should send any message upon their motion, they would quickly make themselves judges of the matter of it, and so counsellors of what was to be done upon it: and therefore they were all of opinion, " that all endeavours were to be used to
" divert and prevent any petition of such a nature
" from being presented to his highness;" which, with great difficulty, was at last prevented.

Shortly after the prince's coming to Exeter, the lord Goring being not then well, but engaged in a course of physic, desired that he might have a free conference with one of the council in private; in which, he professed he would discover his heart, and whatever had stuck with him. Whereupon, according to appointment, the person he had desired went to him one morning to his lodging; when he caused all persons to withdraw; and wished his servant not to suffer any man to disturb them. When they were by themselves, he began with the

discourse of "unkindnesses he had apprehended "from the council, and from that person in parti- "cular; but confessed he had been deceived and "abused by wrong information: that he was now "very sensible of the damage that had befallen "the public by those private jealousies and mis- "takes; and desired, that if any thing had indis- "creetly or passionately fallen from him, it might "be forgotten; and that they might all proceed "vigorously in what concerned the king's service; "in which he could not receive a better encou- "ragement, than by an assurance of that person's "friendship." From this, he discoursed at large "his apprehensions of his brother Porter, of his "cowardice, and of his treachery, with very great "freedom in many particular instances;" and con- cluded, "that he resolved to quit himself of him;" and after two hours spent in those discourses, and in somewhat that concerned his father, in which he said, "he was to receive this person's advice by "his father's direction," (it being about the go- vernment of Pendennis,) as if he had said all he meant to say, he asked the other negligently, "what he thought of the demands he had sent by "the lord Wentworth?" protesting, "he had no "private thoughts, but only an eye to the public "service; towards the doing whereof, as the exi- "gents of affairs then stood, he did not think him- "self sufficiently qualified." The other told him, "that whatever he thought of them would not sig- "nify much, being but a single voice in council; "by the concurrent advice whereof, he presumed, "the prince would govern himself. However, if "he would have him tell him his opinion as a

" friend, he would shew himself so ill a courtier,
" as to tell it him frankly; which, except he re-
" formed him in his judgment, he should declare
" where it should be proposed, and, he believed, it
" would be the opinion of most of the lords, if it
" were not his." Thereupon he told him very freely and plainly, " that he thought it not fit for
" the prince to grant, nor seasonable for him to
" demand; his authority being the same, as to the
" public, all his orders being obeyed, and the prince
" giving him the same assistance, as if he were
" his lieutenant general: that the prince had not
" hitherto interposed his authority in the govern-
" ing that army; and therefore, that he conceived
" it unseasonable, at that time, for his highness to
" interest himself in the command thereof; which
" he should do by making him lieutenant general;
" that the king having directed the prince to make
" the lord Hopton his lieutenant general, it would
" not become them to advise the prince to alter
" that designation, without receiving his majesty's
" command:" therefore he advised him, " since
" the alteration was no way necessary, and would
" inevitably beget much trouble, that he would
" defer the pressing it, till the king's affairs should
" be in a better posture." Satisfied he was not, yet he forbore to importune the prince to that purpose at this time.

About the middle of September, the prince being still at Exeter, the news came of the fatal loss of Bristol; which, as all ill accidents did, cast all men on their faces, and damped all the former vigour and activity for a march. However, the former resolutions continued of drawing to Tiverton, and

at least of defending those passes, and keeping the enemy from invading Devon: for the better doing whereof, and enabling them to fight, if Fairfax should advance, the prince returned to Launceston; whither he summoned all the trained bands of Cornwall, and an appearance of the whole country; which appeared very cheerfully, and seemed well inclined to march to Tiverton. In the mean time the same negligence and disorder continued in the army, and the lord Goring, with the same license and unconcernedness, remained at Exeter, to the great scandal of the country, and disheartening of the army. About the latter end of September, his lordship writ a letter to the lord Colepepper; in which he remembered him of the propositions formerly sent by the lord Wentworth to Launceston; and recounted at large, but very unjustly, the discourse which had passed between the other counsellor and him, at Exeter, upon that subject; in which he charged the other with answers very far from those he had received from him; and desired his lordship, "that, by his means, he might know "positively what he was to trust to;" and concluded, "that, without such a commission as he "desired, he could not be answerable for the mu-"tinies and disorders of the army." Whereupon, his highness, upon full consideration of the mischiefs that would attend his service, if he should consent to the matter of those demands, or comply with the manner of the demanding, sent him word by lord Capel, "that he would not for the present "grant any such commission;" and wished him "to pursue the former counsels and resolutions, in "advancing towards the enemy; all things being

" in a good forwardness in Cornwall to second " him." And so there was no further pressing that overture; however, he presumed to write himself, in all his warrants, and treaties with the commissioners, and in some proclamations which he printed, " General of the west."

The sudden and unexpected loss of Bristol was a new earthquake in all the little quarters the king had left, and no less broke all the measures which had been taken, and the designs which had been contrived, than the loss of the battle of Naseby had done. The king had made haste from Ludlow, that the Scottish army might no more be able to interrupt him; and with very little rest passed through Shropshire and Derbyshire, till he came to Wellbeck, a house of the marquis of Newcastle in Nottinghamshire, where was then a garrison for his majesty; where he refreshed himself, and his troops, two days; and, as far as any resolution was fixed in those days, the purpose was, " to march directly " into Scotland, to join with the marquis of Mount- " rose;" who had, upon the matter, reduced that whole kingdom. During his majesty's short stay at Wellbeck, the governor of Newark, with the commissioners for Nottingham and Lincoln, repaired to him, as likewise all those gentlemen of Yorkshire who had been in Pontefract-castle, (which, after a long and worthy defence, was lately, for pure want of all kind of provisions, surrendered upon good conditions; whereby, " all the soldiers " had liberty to repair to their own houses, and " might live quietly there,") whereupon the gentlemen assured the king, " they were as ready as ever " to serve him, when they should be required."

Whether the natural irresolution of those about the king, or the imagination, upon this report of the gentlemen, that a body of foot might be speedily gathered together in those parts, (which was enough encouraged by the cheerfulness of all the gentlemen of the several counties,) prevailed upon them, but the king was persuaded, "that it "was not best to continue his march, with that "strictness which he intended, towards Mountrose; "but that it would be better to send an express to "him, to agree upon a fit place for their meeting; "and in the mean time, his majesty might be able "to refresh his wearied troops, and to raise a body "of foot in those parts." To which purpose, Doncaster was proposed as a fit place to begin in: and to Doncaster, thereupon, the king went; and the gentlemen so well performed their undertaking, that, within three days, there was an appearance of full three thousand foot; who undertook, within four and twenty hours, to appear well armed, and ready to march with his majesty, what way soever he would go.

Here again the king's froward fortune deprived him of this opportunity to put himself into a posture of war. That very night, they received intelligence, "that David Lesley was come to Rotheram with "all the Scottish horse;" which was within ten miles of Doncaster. The news whereof so confounded them, (as beaten and baffled troops do not naturally, in a short time, recover courage enough to endure the sight of an enemy,) that they concluded "he came in pursuit of the king, and there-"fore that it was now too late to pursue their "northern expedition, and that the king must

" speedily remove to a greater distance for his own " security." Whereupon, he made haste (without expecting that recruit of foot) from Doncaster, back again to Newark; resolving then to go directly to Oxford; whereas David Lesley knew nothing of the king's being in those parts; but, upon sudden orders from Scotland, was required to march, with all possible expedition, with the horse, to relieve his own country from being totally overrun and subdued by the marquis of Mountrose; who had then actually taken Edinburgh. The orders no sooner came to the army before Hereford, but he begun his march, without the least apprehension of any enemy in his way, till he should come into Scotland; and so, as he had made a very long march that day, he came tired and wearied with his troops that night into Rotheram. And he confessed afterwards, " if the king had then fallen upon him, " as he might easily have done, he had found him " in a very ill posture to have made resistance, and " had absolutely preserved Mountrose." But by his so sudden retreat, David Lesley was at liberty to pursue his march for Scotland, and came upon Mountrose, before he expected such an enemy; and so prevented his future triumph, that he was compelled with great loss to retire again into the Highlands; and Lesley returned time enough to relieve and support the Scottish army, when they were compelled to rise from Hereford.

The king [now], with wonderful expedition, prosecuted his journey to Oxford, though not without making some starts out of the way; by which he had opportunity to beat up some quarters of new levied horse for the service of the parliament; and,

before the end of August, he arrived at Oxford; where he did not stay more than two days, but departed from thence again to Worcester, with a resolution to attempt the relief of Hereford; which had defended itself bravely, and very much weakened the Scottish army by frequent sallies. They had only a body of eight hundred tired horse, which David Lesley left behind him when he marched with the rest into Scotland; and therefore the raising that siege was thought the less difficult; and with this resolution his majesty left Oxford the third day after he came thither. And upon his arrival at Ragland, he was certainly informed, "that Fairfax had besieged Bristol;" for which nobody underwent any trouble; for all men looked upon that place as well fortified, manned, and victualled; and the king even then received a very cheerful letter from prince Rupert; in which, "he "undertook to defend it full four months." So that the siege being begun so late in the year as the beginning of September, there was reasonable hope that the army might be ruined, before the town taken. Therefore the king prosecuted his former resolution, at least to endeavour the relief of Hereford. And as he was upon his march thither, he received intelligence, "that the Scottish "army, upon the notice of his purpose, was that "morning risen in great disorder and confusion, "and resolved to make their retreat on the Welsh "side of the river, and so to pass through Glou-"cester." This news was so welcome, and his majesty was received with so full joy into the city of Hereford, that there was not the opportunity embraced of discommoding at least, if not to ruin

the Scottish army; which now passed through a strange country, where they had never been, and where the whole nation was extremely odious to the people. Nor would the governor of Gloucester suffer them to pass through his garrison, till they sent him word plainly, "that if they might not "pass through that town, they knew they should "be very welcome to pass through Worcester;" by which argument he was convinced and converted; so that he permitted them to go through that town, from whence they prosecuted their march into the north. And if, in all this time, they had been pursued by the king's horse, considering the small body they had of their own, there is little doubt to be made very many, if not the greater part of that army, had been destroyed.

But the king's heart was now so wholly set upon the relief of Bristol, and nothing else was thought upon, which might in any degree delay it. And so the king, from Hereford, advertised prince Rupert, "that he had raised the siege of Hereford, and "that the Scots were marched northward; that he "intended speedily to relieve him; and in order to "it, that he had then commanded general Goring, "to draw what force he could out of the west; and "to march to the Somersetshire side of Bristol; "and that his majesty would himself have a body "of three thousand foot, drawn out of the several "garrisons of those parts, which should pass over "the Severn, about Berkley-[castle] on Glouces-"tershire side; and that his horse, which were "then above three thousand, should at the same "time ford the Severn not far from Gloucester," (as they might easily have done,) "and so join

" with his foot; and by this means, all things " being well concerted, they might hopefully fall " on Fairfax's quarters on both sides." And the better to bring all this to pass, the king himself went the second time to Ragland, the house of the marquis of Worcester; sending the horse to those several places, as might best facilitate the execution of the design that was formed for the relief of Bristol.

But when the king came to Ragland, he received the terrible information of the surrender of Bristol, which he so little apprehended, that if the evidence thereof had not been unquestionable, it could never have been believed. With what consternation, and dejection of mind, the king received this advertisement, needs no other description and enlargement, than the setting down, in the very words of it, the letter which the king writ thereupon to prince Rupert; which, considering the unspeakable indulgence his majesty had ever shewed towards that prince, is sufficient evidence, how highly he was offended and incensed by that act; which yet he took some time sadly to think of, and consider, before he would give himself to abate so much of his natural candour towards him. As soon as he received that surprising intelligence, he presently removed from Ragland, and returned to Hereford, which was the post he chose to enter upon new considerations of the desperateness of the condition he was in, and to enter upon new consultations. To that purpose, he sent orders " for all the " officers, and their troops, which had been sent " into Shropshire, Worcestershire, and South " Wales, to provide for the relief of Bristol, to

" attend him there." And as soon as he came to Hereford, he despatched an express with this letter to prince Rupert.

*Hereford, 14th Sept.* 1645.

" Nephew,

" Though the loss of Bristol be a great blow to " me, yet your surrendering it as you did, is of so " much affliction to me, that it makes me not only " forget the consideration of that place, but is like- " wise the greatest trial of my constancy that hath " yet befallen me; for what is to be done, after " one that is so near me as you are, both in blood " and friendship, submits himself to so mean an " action? (I give it the easiest term) such—I have " so much to say, that I will say no more of it: " only, lest rashness of judgment be laid to my " charge, I must remember you of your letter of " the 12th of August, whereby you assured me, " that, if no mutiny happened, you would keep " Bristol for four months. Did you keep it four " days? Was there any thing like a mutiny? " More questions might be asked, but now, I con- " fess, to little purpose: my conclusion is, to desire " you to seek your subsistence, until it shall please " God to determine of my condition, somewhere " beyond seas; to which end I send you herewith " a pass; and I pray God to make you sensible of " your present condition, and give you means to " redeem what you have lost; for I shall have no " greater joy in a victory, than a just occasion " without blushing to assure you of my being

" Your loving uncle, and most faithful friend,

" *C. R.*"

With this letter, the king sent a revocation of all commissions formerly granted to prince Rupert, and signified his pleasure to the lords of the council at Oxford, whither prince Rupert was retired with his troops from Bristol, "that they should "require prince Rupert to deliver into their hands "his commission." And whether the king had really some apprehension that he might make some difficulty in giving it up, and make some disorder in Oxford, or whether it was the effect of other men's counsels, his majesty, at the same time, sent a warrant likewise for the present imprisonment of colonel Leg, (who was governor of Oxford,) as a person much in the prince's favour, and therefore like to be subservient to any of his commands. But this circumstance of rigour made the other judgment upon the prince thought to be over sudden, "that he should be made the first example "of the king's severity, when so many high enor-"mities and miscarriages of others had passed "without being called in question." And as nobody suspected the prince's want of duty in submitting to the king's pleasure, so colonel Leg was generally believed to be a man of that entire loyalty to the king, that he was above all temptations: this circumstance of committing the governor, made the other to be likewise suspected to be more the effect of the power of some potent adversaries, than the effect of the king's own rigour.

When the prince [of Wales] came to Launceston from Exeter, (which was about the middle of September,) after the loss of Bristol, and the motion of the enemy inclined westward, it was then thought fit to draw all the trained bands of

Cornwall to Launceston, and as many of them as could be persuaded, to march eastward; it being agreed at Exeter, "that, if the enemy gave time, "the force of both counties (save what was neces- "sary to be continued at Plymouth) should be "drawn to Tiverton, and, upon that pass, to fight "with the rebels;" for the better compassing whereof, it was ordered, "that sir Richard Greenvil "should command all the Cornish trained bands, to "which should be added his own three regiments, "which he had carried to Taunton;" and which took themselves to be so disobliged, both officers and soldiers, (as in truth they were,) by the lord Goring, that they were absolutely disbanded, and could by no other means be gotten together, but upon assurance that they should be commanded by sir Richard Greenvil. Things being thus settled, Greenvil seemed well satisfied, having all the respect and encouragement from the prince that could be or was desired; and without any other indisposition, than that, once in two or three days, he would write a letter either to the prince himself, the lords, or Mr. Fanshaw, extolling himself, and reproaching the lord Goring's plundering horse, and sometimes sir John Berkley; in all which he used a very marvellous license.

During the prince's being at Exeter, sir John Berkley had desired, "that, in respect his continual "presence would be necessary at Exeter, since the "enemy apparently looked that way, his highness "would dispose the command of the forces before "Plymouth to such a person as he thought fit; "who might diligently attend that service." There was a general inclination to have remitted again sir

Richard Greenvil to that charge, which it was visible he looked for: but there were three great objections against it; the first, the pretence that general Digby had to that command; to whom it originally belonged; and both he, and the earl of Bristol, expected it upon this alteration; he being at that time so well recovered in his health, that he was well able to execute the command: the next, that if it should be offered to Greenvil, he would insist upon such assignations of contributions, as would be impossible to consent to with the subsistence of the army and of the garrisons: the last and the greatest was, that the whole design being now to draw such a body together, as might give the rebels battle, this could not be without the Cornish trained bands, and those other soldiers, who had run from their colours; neither of which would march without sir Richard Greenvil; and it was apparent, if he went to Plymouth, those old soldiers would go to him. Besides, his experience and activity was then thought most necessary to the marching army; where there was a great dearth of good officers. Hereupon, it was resolved that general Digby should again resume the charge at Plymouth, but upon any extraordinary occasion, and advance of the enemy, he was to receive orders from sir Richard Greenvil; and accordingly, upon sir Richard Greenvil's advancing into Devon, and fixing a quarter at Okington, Digby was ordered so to do; which he observed accordingly.

In the beginning of October, the lord Goring persuaded the commissioners of Devon, upon his promise to punish and suppress all disorders in the soldiery, and that the markets should be free,

" to double the contribution of the county for six " weeks, and to assign half thereof to his army;" by virtue whereof he raised vast sums of money; but abated nothing of the former disorders and pressures: and the money so raised, instead of being regularly distributed amongst the soldiers, was disposed to such persons as he thought fit by his warrants to direct. But no sooner was sir Thomas Fairfax advanced as far as Cullampton, than the lord Goring gave over the thought of defending Devon, and, by his letter of the eleventh of October to the lord Colepepper, said, " that he " had sent all the horse, but one thousand, west- " ward, under the command of the major general, " to join with the Cornish; who were to advance; " and that himself, with one thousand horse, and " all his foot, resolved to stay in Exeter to defend " that town, if the enemy came before it; or to be " ready to attend their rear, if they marched for- " ward;" and therefore desired, that his highness " would appoint whom he thought fit, to give " orders to the lord Wentworth, his major general, " who was prepared not to dispute orders sent by any " substituted by the prince." Hereupon, the prince had appointed sir Richard Greenvil " to advance " with the Cornish to Okington," and directed the major general " to receive orders from him:" but, by that time they two had disposed their business into order, as they did very handsomely and cheer- fully, general Goring changed his mind, and, within four days after his former letter, he retired with his thousand horse out of Exeter to Newton Bushell; and then sent to the prince, by a letter to the lord Colepepper, to know " whether sir Richard

" Greenvil should receive orders from him; and " offered to undertake any design with sir Richard " Greenvil, or by himself, as the prince should " direct; or that if his presence and command " should be thought, on the account of any indis- " position in the Cornish towards him, probable " to produce any inconvenience to the service, he " would willingly, for that expedition, resign his " command to any person the prince would design " for it:" intimating withal, " that if the lord " Hopton had it, the lord Wentworth would wil- " lingly receive orders from him." His highness, the next day, writ to him, " that he committed the " management of the whole to his lordship; and " had commanded sir Richard Greenvil to receive " orders from him, who had then a good body of " Cornish with him, and power to draw off the " men from Plymouth, if there should be occa- " sion."

The king's having been in that perpetual motion, as hath been mentioned before, kept the express that had been sent to him from the counsellors, upon the first signification of his pleasure concerning the prince's transportation into France, from delivering that letter for some time. So that it was the middle of October before they received his majesty's further direction. Then this letter to the lord Colepepper was brought back by the same express.

*Chirke Castle*, 29 *Sept.* 1645.

" Colepepper,

" I have seen and considered your despatches; " and for this time you must be content with results

" without the reasons, leaving you to find them:
" lord Goring must break through to Oxford with
" his horse, and from thence, if he can, find me
" out, wheresoever he shall understand I shall be;
" the region about Newark being, as I conceive,
" the most likeliest place. But that which is of
" more necessity, indeed absolute, is, that, with
" the best conveniency, the most secrecy, and
" greatest expedition, prince Charles be trans-
" ported into France; where his mother is to have
" the sole care of him, in all things but one, which
" is his religion; and that must still be under the
" care of the bishop of Salisbury; and this I under-
" take his mother shall submit unto: concerning
" which, by my next despatch, I will advertise her;
" this is all; so I rest

" Your most assured friend, *Charles R.*"

To which there was a postscript in these words:
" *C. R.* For lord Goring's business, though I wish
" it, I cannot say it is absolutely practicable; but
" for my son's, that is of necessity to be done; yet
" for the way, I leave it to your discretion, having
" already with you, as I conceive, as much power
" in paper as I can give you. France must be the
" place, not Scotland, nor Denmark. *C. R.*"

Though this letter was writ after the loss of Bristol, yet when it arrived, the hopes of the west were not thought desperate; and it was absolutely concluded between the lords, " that, as the person
" of the prince was never to be in hazard of being
" surprised, so he was not to be transported out of
" the king's dominions, but upon apparent, visible

" necessity, in point of safety :" and the very suspicion of his going had been, both by the lord Goring and others, enviously whispered, to the great disheartening of the people ; so that (besides that an unseasonable attempt of going might have been disappointed) they saw that the loss of the whole west, both garrisons and army, would immediately have attended that action ; and therefore they thought, they should be absolved, in point of duty, by the king, if they only preserved themselves in a power of obeying him, without executing his command at that time ; especially since general Goring thought it not reasonable to observe the orders, which were sent to him at the same time, for marching towards the king, nor so much as advised with his highness, or communicated that he had received any such orders ; and yet his highness let him know, " that he was well content, " that he should break through with his horse to " the king ;" which he might have done.

The enemy, having gained Tiverton, made no great haste to the west of Exeter, but spent their time in fortifying some houses near the town, on the east side, without receiving the least disturbance from the army ; the lord Goring entertaining himself in his usual jollity between Exeter, Totness, and Dartmouth ; it being publicly spoken in Exeter, " that the lord Goring intended to leave the army, " and speedily to go beyond seas, and that lieutenant " general Porter resolved to go to the parliament ;" long before the prince understood general Goring's resolution to go into France, from any intimation from himself. The twentieth of November, his lordship writ a letter from Exeter to the prince by

the lord Wentworth, "that, now that the enemy and "his lordship were settled in their winter quarters," (whereas the enemy was then as stirring as ever,) "he did beg leave of his highness to spend some "time, for the recovery of his health, in France;" intimating, "that he hoped to do his highness "some notable service by that journey;" and desired, "that his army might remain entirely under "the command of the lord Wentworth" (whereas, not above a fortnight before, he had writ, "that "the lord Wentworth was very willing to receive "orders from the lord Hopton") "until his return; "which, he said, should be in two months;" and so having despatched the lord Wentworth with this letter to the prince to Truro, his lordship, never attending his highness's leave or approbation, went the same, or the next day, to Dartmouth; where he stayed no longer than till he could procure a passage into France; whither, with the first wind, he was transported; lieutenant general Porter, at the same time, declining the exercise of his command, and having received several messages, letters, and a pass from the enemy for his going to London. After the knowledge whereof, general Goring signed a warrant for the levying two hundred pounds upon the country for the bearing his charges. The lord Wentworth, at the time of his being then at Truro, told some of his confidents, "that the lord Goring intended to return no more "to the army, or into England; but relied upon "him to preserve the horse from being engaged, "till he could procure a license from the parlia-"ment to transport them, for the service of a "foreign prince, which would be a fortune to the

" officers." And the major general (who is a very worthy person) told me afterwards at Launceston, " that he could not understand the lord Goring; " for that, at his going from the army, he gave the " officers great charge to preserve their regi- " ments, for he had hope to get leave to transport " them;" and within few days after he arrived at Paris, he sent captain Porridge into England, to fetch all his saddle horses, and horses of service, upon pretence that he was to present them in France; though at the same time he assured his friends, " that he was returning speedily with men " and money;" which was not the more believed by his sending for his horses.

Though there had been no great modesty used in the discourses of the people towards general Goring, from the time of his first fastening in the west, especially of the Cornish, whom he had most unskilfully irreconciled to him, by his continual neglects and contempts of them, (as he would usually before Taunton, when he viewed his foot, clap an Irishman, or one of those soldiers who came out of Ireland, who doubtless were good men, on the shoulders, and tell him, in the hearing of the rest, " that he was worth ten Cornish cowards," the greatest part of his present strength, and all his future hopes depending upon the Cornish, many whereof had reason to believe themselves not inferior to any who had served the king,) yet from the time that he left the army, and went for France, they gave themselves a greater license; and declared, " that he had, from the beginning, com- " bined with the rebels; and having wasted and " ruined all the supplies which had been sent him,

" had now left a dissolute and odious army to the
" mercy of the enemy, and to a county more justly
" incensed, and consequently more merciless than
" they. They compared the loss of Weymouth, in
" the view of his army, after he had been in the
" town, and when the whole direction was in him,
" with the counter-scuffle at Petherton-bridge, when
" two of his own parties, pursuing the orders they
" had received, fought with each other, whilst the
" enemy retired to their own strengths: they re-
" membered the voluntary, wanton, incensing the
" country; the discountenancing the garrison of
" Lamport, and dissolving it; the eating the pro-
" visions of the rest; the cherishing the club-men;
" and the lying with his whole army before Taun-
" ton full six weeks, (after he had declared the
" enemy to be in his mercy, within six days,) and
" in that time (pretending that he would in few
" days starve them) he suffered great quantities of
" provisions to be carried into them, through his
" own quarters, and several interviews and private
" meetings to be by his brother Porter (whose in-
" tegrity he had before suspected) and the chief
" officers of the rebels: the neglecting his body of
" foot, during the time that he lay before Taunton,
" by which he suffered above two thousand to run
" away. They talked of the beating up his head
" quarter the day before the rout at Lamport at
" noon-day, for which no man was ever called to a
" council of war; and that total rout at Lamport,
" as two of the most supine and unsoldierly defeats,
" that were ever known; before which, or in those
" straits, or upon any other occasions of advice,
" that he never called a council of war to consider

" what was to be done; and in that last business " of Lamport, himself was so far from being pre- " sent, that coming in great disorder to Bridge- " water, he said, he had lost his foot and cannon; " which indeed were brought off entirely by the " care and diligence of the lord Wentworth and sir " Joseph Wagstaff. They talked of his unheard of " negligence of the army, after that retreat from " Bridgewater, insomuch as of between three and " four thousand foot, which himself confessed he " had after that business, (and, if his loss had been " no greater than he owned, must have been a far " greater number,) within sixteen days, he had not " thirteen hundred, nor ever after recovered a man, " but what was gotten up by the activity and au- " thority of the prince. Lastly, they remembered " his lying in Devonshire from the beginning of " July, which was about the time of his retreat " from Lamport, to the end of November, when " he went to France, (which was five months,) " with a body of above four thousand horse and " foot, which had been, and might easily have been " made equal; destroying and irreconciling the " country to the king and the cause, without mak- " ing the least attempt, or in any degree looking " after the enemy; whilst the rebels, by formal " sieges, took in the garrisons of Bridgewater, " Sherborne, and Bristol, and many other lesser " and important holds."

Upon the whole matter, comparing his words and his actions, laying his doing and his not doing together, they concluded, " that if he had been " confederate with the enemy, and been corrupted " to betray the west, he could not have taken a

" more effectual way to do it; since he had not " interest enough by any overt act to have put it " into their power;" and therefore they who had a greater opinion of his wit, courage, and conduct, than of his conscience and integrity, presumed the failing was in the latter; towards which opinion they were the more inclined, by many discourses negligently let fall by the enemy in their quarters, " that they were sure enough of Goring;" and by sir Thomas Fairfax's applying himself to the taking those strong places after the rout at Lamport, without ever considering or looking after the lord Goring's army; which, he could not but know, consisted of a body of horse, equal in number to his own; and had reason to apprehend those two populous counties of Devon and Cornwall could quickly recruit the foot; " which negligence (said " they) Fairfax could never be guilty of, if he had " not been well assured, that those forces should " work them no inconvenience;" besides that, being unpursued, Goring might easily have made an escape, and joined with the king, and so have diverted all the enemy's designs upon the west.

But others, who were not enough in love with the lord Goring, to desire to be joined with him in any trust, yet in their opinions clearly absolved him from any combination with the enemy, or design of treachery, and imputed the slow managing the business, at his first coming into the west, and overslipping some opportunities of advantage, to his desire of being settled in that command, and so not making haste, lest, the work being done, he might be necessitated to leave those parts, and be called to the king; for, without doubt, though there was a re-

conciliation made between him and prince Rupert to that degree, that all the countenance general Goring received from court in prejudice of the prince's authority, and of his council, was procured for him purely by his highness; who in one of his letters to him, at such time as he was before Taunton, used these words; "what you desire in your "letter, on the twenty-second of May, shall be "observed; and assure yourself that prince Rupert "shall maintain general Goring's honour and "power, and shall lose his life, rather than general "Goring shall suffer for prince Rupert;" which letter (as he did any others, which he received from his majesty, or the secretaries, in cipher) he communicated to the company in all his acts of good fellowship; yet, I say, it was very evident, he was resolved never to be in the same army with prince Rupert under his command; and all his loose and scandalous speeches they imputed to an innate license he had always given himself; and his gross and unfortunate oversights, to the laziness and unactivity of his nature; which could better pursue, and make advantages upon good successes, than struggle and contend with difficulties and straits. And they who had been nearest the observation found a great difference between the presentness of his mind and vivacity in a sudden attempt, though never so full of danger, and an enterprise that required more deliberation, and must be attended with patience, and a steady circumspection; as if his mind could not be long bent. And therefore he had been observed to give over a game, sooner than gamesters that have been thought to have less fire. Many other passages must be attributed to

his perfect hatred of all the persons of the council, after he found they would not comply with his desires, and to his particular ambition; and both those passions of ambition and revenge might transport his nature beyond any limits. But what he meant by his discourse at parting to the officers, for the keeping the horse for the service of some foreign prince, was never understood, except he did really believe, that he should shortly return with a body of foot; and so, that they should not be forward to engage with the enemy, or else to keep such a dependence upon him from the officers, that they should always hope for employment under him.

Whilst sir Richard Greenvil stayed at Okington, he had several strange designs; which he always communicated to the prince, or lords, in writing; one of which was, "to cut a deep trench from "Barnstable to the south sea, for the space of "near forty miles; by which, he said, he would "defend all Cornwall, and so much of Devon, "against the world;" and many such impossible undertakings; at which they who understood matters of that nature thought him besides himself. Notwithstanding the trained bands of Cornwall returned to their homes, (having stayed out their month; which was their first contract,) sir Richard Greenvil stayed still at Okington, with his three regiments of old soldiers, having barricadoed the town; the pass being of very great importance to hinder the enemy from any communication with Plymouth. And indeed the reputation of his being there with a greater strength than in truth he had at any time, was a great means of keeping the

rebels on the east side of Exeter; as appears by their sudden advance, as soon as he removed from that post; which he did about the end of November, without giving the least advice to the prince of such his purpose, and contrary to the express desire of the lords Capel and Colepepper, who were then at Exeter, and, hearing of his resolution, had written to him very earnestly "not to remove." He suddenly retired with his three regiments from Okington into Cornwall, and mustered his men upon the river Tamar, that divides Cornwall from Devon, with express command "to guard the "passes, and not to suffer any of the lord Goring's "men, upon what pretence or warrant soever, to "come into Cornwall." For the better doing whereof, he caused the country to come in to work at their bridges and passes, as he had done before, most impertinently, for the fortifying of Launceston; and caused proclamations, and orders of his own, to be read throughout Cornwall, in the churches, "that if any of the lord Goring's forces" (whom in those writings he charged with all the odious reproaches for plundering) "should offer to "come into Cornwall, they should ring the bells, "and thereupon the whole county should rise, and "beat them out;" by these unheard of and unwarrantable means, preparing the country to such a hatred of the lord Goring, and his forces, that they rather desired the company of the rebels; so alienating all men's spirits from resisting of the enemy; and all this without so much as communication with the prince, till it was executed.

About the last week of November, he came himself to Truro to the prince, on the same day that

his highness had received letters from the lords at Exeter, of the extreme ill consequence of sir Richard Greenvil's drawing off from Okington; upon encouragement whereof, a strong party of the enemy was come to Kirton. Whereupon his highness sent for sir Richard Greenvil; and, in council, acquainted him with those letters, and other intelligence that he had received of the enemy, and desired him to consider what was now to be done. The next day, without attending his highness any more, but returning to his house at Worrington, he writ a long letter to Mr. Fanshaw of his advice, which he desired might be communicated to the lords; which was, "that his highness should send "to the parliament for a treaty, and should offer, "if he might enjoy the revenue of the duchy of "Cornwall, and that they would not advance to "disturb him in that county, that he would not "attempt any thing upon them, but that they "should enjoy the freedom of all their ports in "Cornwall for trade, without any disturbance by "his majesty's ships:" and so, in plain English, to sit still a neuter between the king and the parliament, at a time when there was a body of horse superior to the enemy in those parts; and when an equal proportion of foot might have been gotten together; and when his majesty had not the face of an army in any other part of England. The prince was very much troubled at this letter, and the more, because he found sir Richard Greenvil had contracted a great friendship with such of his highness's servants, as he had reason to believe less zealous and intent upon the honour and prosperity of the king; and because he had discovered he

laboured very much to infuse a jealousy into the governor of Pendennis-castle, "that the prince "intended to remove him from that command, and "to confer it upon the lord Hopton;" to which purpose he had written to the governor from Okington, (when the lord Hopton, and the chancellor, were sent down thither to assist him in the fortifying and supplying that castle; which if they had not done, it would not have held out, as it did afterwards,) "that the lord Hopton had a commis-"sion to take that charge from him; but that he "should not suffer such an affront to be put upon "him; for he, and all his friends, would stick to "him in it:" whereas there was never the least thought or intention to make any alteration in that government.

Shortly after that letter of the twenty-seventh, sir Richard Greenvil writ again to Mr. Fanshaw, to know how his propositions were approved; to which, by direction, he returned, "that the council "had not been yet together since the receipt of "them; the lords Capel and Colepepper being not "then returned from Exeter; and that therefore it "had not been yet debated." He proceeded in the mean time in his fortifications there, and, about the middle of December, the prince continuing at Truro, he sent several letters to the gentlemen of the county "to meet him at Launceston:" one of which letters I saw, to colonel Richard Arundel; in which, "he desired him to bring as many gen-"tlemen, and others of ability, as he could, as "well the disaffected, as well affected; for that he "intended to communicate to them some propo-"sitions, which he had formerly preferred to the

" prince, and though they were not hearkened to " there, he believed would be very acceptable to " his countrymen of Cornwall;" but the prince's sudden going to Tavistock disappointed that meeting.

Shortly after the lord Goring's going into France, the prince, being informed from Exeter, " that the " enemy, at the same time having finished their " works, which kept the city from any relief on the " east side, were now drawing their forces to the " west side, whereby that city would be speedily " distressed;" thought it necessary to send the lords Brentford, Capel, Hopton, and Colepepper, to confer with the lord Wentworth; who lay then at Ashburton, six miles from Totness, and with sir Richard Greenvil, who was ready to draw some foot into Devon, to the end that such an understanding might be settled between them two, that the service might proceed: their lordships being directed, by instructions under his highness's hand, upon consideration of the state of the forces, and conference with the lord Wentworth, and sir Richard Greenvil, to advise what speedy course should be taken for the relief of Exeter, (the prince having at the same time disbursed a thousand pound ready money to two merchants of Exeter, for provision of corn for that city,) presuming that both the one and the other would have been very ready to have received and followed the advice which their lordships should give.

The place of meeting was appointed to be Tavistock, where every body was, save the lord Wentworth; but he failing, the lords, having directed sir Richard Greenvil how to dispose of himself,

went themselves to Ashburton, near twenty miles further, to the lord Wentworth's quarter; where they spent a day or two, but found not that respect from him they had reason to have expected. His lordship was very jealous of diminution in his command, which general Goring had devolved to him, and expressing himself oftentimes to them very unnecessarily, " that he would receive orders from " none but the prince himself;" whereupon, and upon the importunate calling for relief from Exeter, their lordships " thought it absolutely necessary, " that the prince himself should advance in person, " as well to bring up as great a body of the Cornish " as was possible, (which without his presence was " not to be hoped for,) as to dispose the command " of the whole forces in such manner, as might " probably be for the best advantage; the best that " was to be hoped for being to bring the enemy to " fight a battle; and to be enabled to that purpose, " by joining with the foot that were in Exeter; " which was a very hopeful body." For the conducting so great a design, upon which no less than three crowns depended, the lord Wentworth could not be thought of interest, experience, or reputation enough; and yet there was so great regard, that he should not suffer in his honour, or the imaginary trust devolved to him by general Goring, or rather indeed that no notable hazard might be run, by any unnecessary mutation in commands, at a time when the soldier was to be led to fight, that it was resolved, " that he should be rather advised " than commanded; and that if he comported " himself with that temper and modesty, as was " expected, all resolutions should be formed in

" council, and all orders thereupon should issue in " his own name."

The next day after Christmas day, the weather being fitter for a fire than a march, the prince went from Truro to Bodmin; and the next day to Tavistock; where the lords of the council attended; the lord Wentworth continuing at Ashburton, and his horse spread over that part of the country which was at any distance from the enemy. Sir Richard Greenvil, who attended likewise at Tavistock, had sent three regiments of foot to Okington, under the command of major general Molesworth; which were secured by the brigade of horse under major general Web, who was quartered near those parts, and the Cornish trained bands were to come up within a week; the blockade before Plymouth was maintained by general Digby, with about twelve or thirteen hundred foot, and six hundred horse; but the whole contribution assigned for the support of those forces was taken by the lord Wentworth's horse; so that the prince was compelled to supply those men, out of the magazines of victual which he had provided in Cornwall for the army when it should march; and to leave his own guard of horse upon the skirts of Cornwall; there being no quarter to be had for them nearer his own person.

[About this time,] sir Thomas Fairfax quartered at a house about two miles east of Exeter, sir Hardress Waller with a brigade of his army at Kirton, and another part of the army had possessed Powdram-house, and the church, Hulford-house, and some other holds on the west side; so that no provisions went in, and it hath been said before, how long the army under Goring had subsisted

upon the provisions within, and kept all supply from entering: the advice taken at Tavistock, upon the prince's coming thither, was, "that as soon as the "Cornish foot should be come up, his highness "should march with those, his own guards, and as "many foot as might conveniently be taken from "before Plymouth, by leaving horse in their place, "to Totness; where a magazine should be made "of provisions for the whole army, both by money "(for which the county would yield great store of "provisions) and by victuals brought out of Corn-"wall by sea;" for which likewise directions were given: "from that place it was concluded, that "the prince might join with the forces in Exeter, "except the rebels should draw their whole body "between them; and then that garrison would be "able both to relieve itself, and to infest the enemy "in the rear; and the prince might retire, or "fight, as he found it most convenient and advan-"tageous to him." Resolutions being thus fixed, and the Cornish being not expected in full numbers till the week following, the prince chose to go to Totness; where all things necessary might be agreed with the lord Wentworth, who might conveniently attend there, his quarters being within six miles; and where directions might be given for making the magazine, towards which money had been returned out of Cornwall.

The next day after the prince came thither, the lord Wentworth attended him, and was informed in council, what had been thought reasonable at Tavistock; the which he approved of: the prince then called to see a list of the quarters, that

thereupon it might be agreed how the whole army should be quartered when they came together; to which end, the next day the lord Wentworth brought the quarter master general Pinkney, who indeed governed him. At the first council, the lord Wentworth told the prince, "that he was to "declare one thing to him, at the entrance into "business, and for the prevention of any mistakes, "that he could receive no orders from any person "but his highness; the lord Goring having re-"posed that trust in him, and given him a com-"mission and instructions to that purpose;" which he often repeated afterwards in council; and, in the debate of quartering, talked very imperiously, and very disrespectfully, and one day, after he had been drinking, very offensively to some of the council, in the presence of the prince The time was not conceived seasonable for the prince to declare how the army should be commanded, till he had brought it together, and till he had his own guards about him; and so the prince, though he was nothing satisfied in the lord Wentworth's carriage, only told him, "that he would take the "command of the army upon himself, and issue "out orders as he should think fit;" and having visited the port and garrison of Dartmouth, and taken sufficient course for the providing the magazines, and settled the differences about quartering, he returned to Tavistock; resolving, with all possible expedition, to march with the whole body of foot to Totness, according to former appointment.

The day before the prince begun his journey to

Tavistock, he received a letter from the king his father, dated upon the seventh of November, in these words:

*Oxford, 7th of November*, 1645.

"Charles,

"I leave others to tell you the news of these "parts, which are not so ill, as, I believe, the rebels "would make you believe: that which I think fit "to tell you is, I command you, as soon as you "find yourself in a probable danger of falling into "the rebels' hands, to transport yourself into Den-"mark; and, upon my blessing, not to stay too "long upon uncertain hopes within this island, in "case of danger as above said. For, if I mistake "not the present condition of the west, you ought "not to defer your journey one hour: in this I am "not absolutely positive; but I am directly posi-"tive, that your going beyond sea is absolutely "necessary for me, as I do, to command you; "and I do not restrain you only to Denmark, "but permit you to choose any other country, "rather than to stay here: as for Scotland and "Ireland I forbid you either, until you shall have "perfect assurance, that peace be concluded in the "one, or that the earl of Mountrose, in the other, "be in a very good condition; which, upon my "word, he is not now: so God bless you.

"Your loving father, *Charles R.*"

Though the intimations in this letter were strong for a present remove, yet they not being positive, and the time of the year being such, as that the prince could not be blocked up by sea, and so could choose his own time, and having one county entire,

and Exeter and Barnstable in the other well garrisoned, besides the blockade before Plymouth, and the reputation of an army, the council were of opinion, that the time was not yet ripe; and so pursued the former design of joining the Cornish to the horse, and to endeavour the relief of Exeter; for which purpose, the prince undertook the journey before mentioned to Tavistock, the day after Christmas day; and, at his coming thither, received this other letter from the king.

*Oxford, the 7th of December,* 1645.

" Charles,

" I writ to you this day month; of which, few " days after, I sent you a duplicate. The causes " of my commands to you in that letter, are now " multiplied. I will name but one, which I am " sure is sufficient for what I shall now add to my " former: it is this; I have resolved to propose a " personal treaty to the rebels at London; in order " to which a trumpet is by this time there, to de- " mand a pass for my messengers, who are to " carry my propositions; which if admitted, as I " believe it will, then my real security will be, your " being in another country, as also a chief argument " (which speaks itself without an orator) to make " the rebels hearken, and yield to reason: whereas " therefore I left you by my last to judge of the " time, I absolutely command you to seek for care- " fully, and take the first opportunity of transporting " yourself into Denmark, if conveniently you can; " but rather than not go out of this kingdom, " immediately after the receipt of this, I permit, " and command you to repair to any other country,

" as France, Holland, &c. whereto you may arrive
" with most convenient security as to your passage;
" for nothing else is to be feared: I need not
" recommend to you the leaving the country in the
" best posture you may, it so speaks itself, as I
" shall always do to be

" Your loving father, *Charles R.*"

His highness, as he used to do, as soon as he had perused the letter, which, as the rest, was written in the lord Colepepper's cipher, and by him deciphered, delivered it again to his lordship, " to " be secretly kept, and communicated to the other " three;" for it was by no means yet safe to trust it farther. They were much troubled at the receipt of this letter; for, besides that it found them in the article of the most probable design had been on foot since the late disasters, to preserve the west; if they should have attempted to have given obedience to that command, the sudden, unexpected, and unreasonable leaving the army, would visibly have declared what the intent had been, and would probably have engaged the people, and the soldiers, (who would have wanted neither intelligence, nor instigation from the prince's own servants; of whom the lords could not rely upon three men,) they being full of hope in the enterprise they were upon, and full of dislike of the other they should have chosen, to have prevented it; towards which, they might reasonably have expected assistance from the garrison of Pendennis; from which place his highness was necessarily to remove himself. So that if the prince attempted to go, and succeeded, the army, upon that discoun-

tenance, must dissolve; and if he succeeded not, there might be a fatal consequence of the endeavour and disappointment. Then, though they had long kept a ship in the harbour in readiness, and had at that time another frigate of Mr. Hasdunck's, yet it had been carried with so much secrecy that very few had taken notice of it, and therefore they could not be provided for so long a voyage as to Denmark, which, with so precious a charge, would require two months' victual at least. But that which troubled them most, was the argument which his majesty was pleased to use for his so positive command; which, to their understanding, seemed to conclude rather, that his highness's transportation (at least without an immediate impulsion of necessity) was at that time most unseasonable: for if, in expectation of a treaty, his majesty should venture his royal person in London, and should be received there, and at the same time his highness's person should be transported out of the kingdom, by his majesty's own commands, (which could not then have been concealed,) it was reasonable to believe, that not only the rebels would make great advantage of it, as an argument against his majesty's sincere intentions, and thereby draw unspeakable and irreparable prejudice upon him; but that his own council, by which he was disposed to that overture, and whose assistance he must constantly use, would take themselves to be highly disobliged by that act; and they would lose all confidence in their future counsels.

Upon the whole matter, the lords were unanimously of opinion, "that the relief of Exeter was "to proceed in the manner formerly agreed, and

" that the prince's person was to be present at it :" and thereupon they sent an express to the king, with a despatch signed by the four who were trusted, a duplicate whereof was sent by another express the next day, in which they presented a clear state to his majesty of his forces, and the hopes they then had of improving their condition by the prince's presence ; of the condition of Exeter, and of the strength, as they conceived, of the enemy : and of the inconveniency, if not the impossibility, of obeying his majesty at that time. They farther informed his majesty of " the great " indisposition, that they perceived in all the ser- " vants towards his highness's leaving the king- " dom ; and that the jealousy was so great of " France, that they had reason to believe that " many who were very faithful, and tender of his " safety, would rather wish him in the hands of the " enemy, than in that kingdom ; and therefore, " when the article of necessity should come, (which " they assured his majesty they would with any " hazard watch and observe,) they must prefer the " continuing him still within his majesty's own " dominions, and so to waft him to Scilly, or " Jersey, and from thence conclude what was to " be done farther. They presented likewise their " humble opinion to him, that in case he should be " engaged in a personal treaty at London, (which " they conceived the rebels would never admit, " without such acts first obtained from his majesty, " as might invalidate his power, and confirm theirs,) " how inconvenient it might be, without the privity " of those counsellors, whom he was then to trust, " to transport the prince, except in danger of sur-

" prisal, before the issue of that treaty might be " discerned :" assuring his majesty, " that nothing " should put his highness's person into the hands " of the parliament, but his majesty's own com- " mands ; which they should not resist in his own " dominions, nor, they conceived, any body else, if " he were out of them."

The appearance at Tavistock answered the expectation ; there being full two thousand four hundred of the trained bands, very cheerful, and ready to march ; at Okington were eight hundred old soldiers, under major general Molesworth ; the foot with the lord Wentworth were given out to be eight hundred, with the lord Goring's guards which were in Dartmouth ; and to be drawn thence upon the advance to the army : from Barnstable, the governor had promised to send five hundred men ; and out of Exeter, at the least, a thousand five hundred men were promised : all which, with his highness's guards, might well be depended upon for six thousand foot. The horse was very little fewer than five thousand ; whereof his highness's guards made near seven hundred ; so that, if all these could have been brought to fight, the day seemed not desperate. The foot were appointed to have marched the morrow, when the news came, " that the enemy was advanced, and had beaten " up the lord Wentworth's quarters in two several " places ;" and shortly after the news, the lord Wentworth himself came in, in great disorder, not informed of the particular of his loss, but conceived it to be greater than in truth it was, though many men, and more horses, were taken in both places. The prince was very desirous to pursue

the former resolution, and to have advanced with the whole body to Totness; but the lord Wentworth did not only allege, "that probably the "enemy was possessed by that time of Totness, "but that he had in truth no hope to rally his "horse together, in any numbers, till they might "be allowed three or four days' rest." Whereas all that rout had been occasioned by small parties of the enemy, who, at daytime, came into their quarters, and found no guards, but all the horse in the stables; and their gross moved not in two or three days after; encouraged, it was thought, by the great disorder they found those troops to be in. Matters standing thus, and it being absolutely necessary, by reason of this disorderly retreat of the horse, to draw off the blockade from Plymouth, Tavistock was no longer thought a place for the prince's residence; his highness by the advice of a council of war removed to Launceston; whither all the foot were drawn, and the horse appointed to keep the Devonshire side of the river; and from thence he hoped he should be speedily able to advance towards Exeter.

The king had stayed at Hereford, in great perplexity and irresolution; not knowing which way to take, but most inclined to go to Worcester; till he was assured, "that the whole strength of the par-"liament in the north was gathered together under "the command of Pointz; and that he was already "come between Hereford and Worcester, with a "body of above three thousand horse and dra-"goons; with which he was appointed always to "attend the king's motion:" so that it would be very hard for his majesty to get to Worcester,

whither his purpose of going was, upon the new resolution he had taken again to march into Scotland to join with Mountrose, who was yet understood to be prosperous. And this being the only design, it was not thought reasonable " to prose-" cute that march by Worcester, and thereby to " run the hazard of an engagement with Pointz; " but rather to take a more secure passage through " North Wales to Chester; and thence, through " Lancashire and Cumberland, to find a passage " into Scotland, unobstructed by any enemy that " could oppose them." This counsel pleased; and within four days, though through very unpleasant ways, the king came within half a day's journey of Chester; which he found in more danger than he expected or suspected; for within three days before, the enemy, out of their neighbour garrisons, had surprised both the outworks and suburbs of Chester; and had made some attempt upon the city, to the great terror and consternation of those within; who had been without apprehension of such a surprise. So that this unexpected coming of his majesty looked like a designation of Providence for the preservation of so important a place: and the besiegers were no less amazed, looking upon themselves as lost, and the king's troops believed them to be in their power.

Sir Marmaduke Langdale was sent with most of the horse over Holt-bridge, that he might be on the east side of the river Dee; and the king, with his guards, the lord Gerrard, and the rest of the horse, marched directly into Chester, with a resolution, " that, early the day following, sir Marma-" duke Langdale should have fallen upon their

" backs, when all the force of the town should " have sallied out, and so enclosed them." But sir Marmaduke Langdale, being that night drawn on a heath two miles from Chester, had intercepted a letter from Pointz, (who had marched a much shorter way, after he was informed which way the king was bound,) to the commander that was before Chester, telling him, " that he was come " to their rescue, and desiring to have some foot " sent to him, to assist him against the king's " horse:" and the next morning he appeared, and was charged by sir Marmaduke Langdale, and forced to retire with loss; but kept still at such a distance, that the foot from before Chester might come to him. The besiegers begun to draw out of the suburbs in such haste, that it was believed in Chester, they were upon their flight; and so most of the horse and foot in the town had order to pursue them. But the others' haste was to join with Pointz; which they quickly did; and then they charged sir Marmaduke Langdale; who, being overpowered, was routed, and put to flight; and pursued by Pointz even to the walls of Chester. There the earl of Litchfield with the king's guards, and the lord Gerrard with the rest of the horse, were drawn up, and charged Pointz, and forced him to retire. But the disorder of those horse which first fled, had so filled the narrow ways, which were unfit for horse to fight in, that at last the enemy's musketeers compelled the king's horse to turn, and to rout one another, and to overbear their own officers, who would have restrained them. Here fell many gentlemen, and officers of name, with the brave earl of Litchfield; who was the third

brother of that illustrious family, that sacrificed his life in this quarrel. He was a very faultless young man, of a most gentle, courteous, and affable nature, and of a spirit and courage invincible; whose loss all men exceedingly lamented, and the king bore it with extraordinary grief. There were many persons of quality taken prisoners, amongst whom sir Philip Musgrave, a gentleman of a noble extraction, and ample fortune in Cumberland and Westmoreland; who lived to engage himself again in the same service, and with the same affection, and, after very great sufferings, to see the king restored. This defeat broke all the body of horse, which had attended the king from the battle of Naseby, and which now fled over all the country to save themselves; and were as much dispersed, as the greatest rout could produce.

The design of marching northward was now at an end; and it was well it was so; for about this very time Mountrose was defeated by David Lesley; so that if the king had advanced farther, as he resolved to have done, the very next day after he came to Chester, he could never have been able to have retreated. He stayed in Chester only one night after this blow, but returned, by the same way by which he had come, to Denbigh-castle in North Wales, being attended only with five hundred horse; and there he stayed three days to refresh himself, and to rally such of his troops as had stayed within any distance. And there he stayed till his broken troops were rallied again; so that he had in view four and twenty hundred horse; but whither to go with them was still the difficult question. Some proposed "the isle of Anglesey,

" as a place of safety, and an island fruitful enough " to support his forces; which would defend itself " against any winter attempt, and from whence he " might be easily transported into Ireland or Scot- " land." They who objected against this, as very many objections might well be made, proposed " that his majesty might commodiously make his " winter quarters at Worcester, and by quartering " his troops upon the Severn, between Bridgenorth " and Worcester, stand there upon his guard; and, " by the access of some other forces, might be able " to fight with Pointz;" who, by this time, that he might both be able the more to straiten Chester, and to watch the king's motion, had drawn his troops over the river Dee into Denbighshire; so that he was now nearer the king, and made the march proposed much the more difficult; but there was so little choice, that it was prosecuted with good success; and there being another bridge to pass the Dee some miles further, and through as ill ways as any those countries are supplied with, his majesty went over without any opposition; and had, by this means, left Pointz a full day's journey behind. And here prince Maurice waited on his majesty with eight hundred horse, part whereof was of prince Rupert's regiment that came out of Bristol. And now being so much stronger, they less feared the enemy; yet continued their march without resting, till, by fording the Severn, they came to Bridgenorth, the place designed. And now every body expected, that they should forth- with go to Worcester, and take up their winter quarters; but upon the news of the surrender of Berkley-castle in Gloucestershire, and of the De-

vizes in Wiltshire, two strong garrisons of the king's, it was urged, "that Worcester would not "be a good place for the king's winter residence, "and Newark was proposed as a place of more "security." This advice was the more like to be embraced, because it was vehemently pursued upon a private and particular interest.

Though prince Rupert had submitted to the king's pleasure, in resigning his commission, yet he resolved not to make use of his pass, and to quit the kingdom, till he might first see his majesty, and give an account of the reasons which obliged him to deliver up Bristol, and was ready to begin his journey towards him, as soon as he could be informed where the king intended to rest. The lord Digby, who had then the chief influence upon his majesty's councils, and was generally believed to be the sole cause of revoking the prince's commission, and of the order sent to him to leave the kingdom, without being heard what he could say for himself, found that the odium of all this proceeding fell upon him; and therefore, to prevent the breaking of that cloud upon him, which threatened his ruin, (for he had not only the fury of prince Rupert, and all his party to contend with, but the extreme malice of the lord Gerrard; who used to hate heartily upon a sudden accident, without knowing why: over and above this, as prince Rupert would have an easy journey to Worcester, so prince Maurice was governor there, who had a very tender sense of the severity his brother had undergone, and was ready to revenge it: whereas if the king went to Newark, the journey from Oxford thither would be much more difficult, and prince

Maurice would be without any authority there,) these reasons were motives enough to him, to be very solicitous to divert the king from Worcester, and to incline him to Newark; and his credit was so great, that, against the opinion of every other man, the king resolved to take that course: so having stayed only one day at Bridgenorth, and from thence sent sir Thomas Glemham to receive the government of Oxford, he made haste to Litchfield; and then passed with that speed to Newark, that he was there as soon as the governor had notice of his purpose. And in this manner, in the greatest perplexity of his own affairs, was his majesty compelled to condescend to the particular and private passions of other men.

When the king came to Newark, he betook himself to the regulating the very great disorders of that garrison; which, by their great luxury and excesses, in a time of so general calamity, had given great scandal to the commissioners, and to all the country. The garrison consisted of about two thousand horse and foot; and to those there were about four and twenty colonels and general officers, who had all liberal assignments out of the contributions, according to their qualities; so that though that small county paid more contribution than any other in England, there was very little left to pay the common soldiers, or to provide for any other expenses. This made so great a noise, that the king found it absolutely necessary to reform it; and so reduced some of the officers entirely, and lessened the pay of others; which added to and increased the number of the discontented people; which was very much too numerous before.

Now reports were spread abroad with great confidence, and the advertisement sent from several places, though no author named, " that Mountrose, " after his defeat, by an access of those troops " which were then absent, had fought again with " David Lesley; and totally defeated him; and " that he was marched towards the borders with a " strong army." This news, how groundless soever, was so very good that it was easily believed, and believed to that degree, that the king himself declared a resolution, the third time, " to advance, " and join with Mountrose;" and the lord Digby (who knew that prince Rupert was already upon his way from Oxford, and that prince Maurice had met him at Banbury) prevailed so far, that the king resolved, without delay, or expecting any confirmation of the report, " to move northward to meet " the news, and, if it fell not out to his wish, he " would return to Newark." In this resolution, after a week's stay at Newark, he marched to Tuxford; and the next day to Wellbeck, having, in his way, met with the same general reports of Mountrose's victories; which were interpreted as so many confirmations; and therefore, though the king assembled his council to consult at Wellbeck, he declared, " that he would not have it debated, " whether he should advance or retire; but the " manner of his advancing; since he was resolved " not to retire; which he was sure would be attended " with more mischief than could accompany his " advancing."

This declaration, how disagreeable soever it was to the sense of much the major part, left very little to be consulted upon; for since they must advance,

it was easily agreed, " that they should march the " next day to Rotheram; and that the army should " be drawn to a rendezvous, the next morning, at " such an hour;" and so the officers rose to give orders out for the execution of what was resolved; when, in the instant, one knocked at the door; and, being called in, was the trumpeter formerly sent from Cardiff to the Scottish army, with a letter to the earl of Leven, general thereof; who had taken him with him as far as Berwick, before he would suffer him to be discharged. The king asked him, " what he had heard of the marquis of Mountrose?" He answered, " that the last news he had heard of " him was, that he was about Stirling, retiring " farther north; and that David Lesley was in " Lothian, on this side Edinburgh; and that the " Scottish army lay between North Allerton and " Newcastle." This so unexpected relation dashed the former purpose; and the lord Digby himself declared, " that it was by no means fit for his " majesty to advance; but to retire presently to " Newark;" which was, by every body, agreed to; and the rendezvous of the army for the next morning to continue. When they were at the rendezvous, the king declared, " that though it was not " judged fit for himself to advance northward, yet " he thought it very necessary, that sir Marmaduke " Langdale should, with the horse under his com- " mand, march that way; and endeavour to join " with Mountrose." And, having said so, his majesty looked upon sir Marmaduke; who very cheerfully submitted to his majesty's pleasure; and said, " he had only one suit to make to his majesty; " which was, that the lord Digby might command

" in chief, and he under him." All who were present, stood amazed at all that had been said; of which no word had passed in council: but when the lord Digby as frankly accepted of the command, they concluded, that it had been concerted before between the king and the other two.

No man contradicted any thing that was proposed; and so immediately, upon the place, a short commission was prepared, and signed by the king, to constitute the lord Digby lieutenant general of all the forces raised, or to be raised, for the king on the other side of Trent; and with this commission he immediately departed from the king, taking with him from the rendezvous all the northern horse, with sir Marmaduke Langdale, and sir Richard Hutton, high sheriff of Yorkshire, together with the earls of Carnewarth and Niddisdale, and several other Scottish gentlemen: he marched in the head of fifteen hundred horse; and so in a moment became a general, as well as a secretary of state; and marched presently to Doncaster.

Because this expedition was in a short time at an end, it will not be amiss to [finish] the relation in this place; there being no occasion to resume it hereafter. The lord Digby was informed at his being at Doncaster, " that there was, in a town " two or three miles distant, and little out of the " way of the next day's march, one thousand foot " newly raised for the parliament;" which he resolved, the next morning, to fall upon: and did it so well, that they all threw down their arms, and dispersed; whereupon he prosecuted his march to a town called Sherborne, where he stayed to refresh his troops; and whilst he stayed there, he

had notice of the advance of some troops of horse towards him, under the command of colonel Copley: Digby presently sounded to horse, and having gotten some few troops ready, marched with them out of the town; and finding Copley standing upon a convenient ground, he would not stay for his other companies, but immediately charged them with that courage, that he routed most of their bodies; which, after a short resistance, fled, and were pursued by his horse through Sherborne; where the other troops were refreshing themselves; who discerning the flight of horse, in great consternation, concluded, that they were their own fellows, who had been routed by the enemy: and so with equal confusion they mounted their horses, and fled as fast as the other, such ways, as they severally conceived to be most for their safety. By this means, a troop that remained upon the field unbroken, fell upon the lord Digby, and those officers and gentlemen who remained about him, and who had not pursued those who fled too far; who were compelled to make their retreat to Skipton; which they did with the loss of sir Richard Hutton, (a gallant and worthy gentleman, and the son and heir of a very venerable judge, a man famous in his generation,) and two or three other persons; and with the loss of his baggage; in which was his cabinet of papers; which, being published by the parliament, administered afterwards so much occasion of discourse.

At Skipton, most of the scattered troops came together again, with which he marched, without any other misadventures, through Cumberland and Westmoreland, as far as Dumfries in Scotland;

and then, neither receiving directions which way to march, nor where Mountrose was, and less knowing how to retire without falling into the hands of the Scottish army upon the borders; in the highest despair, the lord Digby, with sir Marmaduke Langdale, the two earls, and most of the other officers, embarked themselves for the Isle of Man; and, shortly after, for Ireland; where we shall leave them, all the troops being left by them, to shift for themselves. Thus those fifteen hundred horse which marched northward from that rendezvous, within very few days were brought to nothing; and the generalship of the lord Digby, to an end. But if it had not been for that extraordinary and unusual accident of the flying of his own troops, because the enemy fled, (as the greatest misfortunes which befell that noble person, throughout the whole course of his life, usually fell out in a conjuncture when he had near attained to what he could wish,) he had without doubt been master of York, and of the whole north; the parliament having no other forces in all those parts, their garrisons excepted, than those foot which he first defeated, and those horse which he had so near broken. The temper and composition of his mind was so admirable, that he was always more pleased and delighted that he had advanced so far, which he imputed to his own virtue and conduct, than broken or dejected that his success was not answerable, which he still charged upon second causes, for which he could not be accountable.

When the lord Digby and sir Marmaduke Langdale left the king, his majesty marched back to Newark with eight hundred horse of his own

guards, and the troops belonging to the lord Gerrard; and quickly heard of the misfortune that befell the northern adventurers; upon which he concluded that it would not be safe for him to stay longer in the place where he was, for by this time Pointz was come with all his troops to Nottingham, and Rossiter with all the force of Lincolnshire to Grantham; and all the power his majesty had was not in any degree strong enough to oppose either of them; so that he was only to watch an opportunity by the darkness of the nights, and good guides, to steal from thence to Worcester, or Oxford; in either of which he could only expect a little more time and leisure to consider what was more to be done.

But before his majesty can leave Newark, he must undergo a new kind of mortification from his friends, much sharper than any he had undergone from his enemies; and which, without doubt, he tolerated with much more grief, and perplexity of mind. Prince Rupert was now come to Belvoir-castle, with his brother prince Maurice, and about one hundred and twenty officers who attended him; with which he had sustained a charge from Rossiter, and broke through without any considerable loss. When the king heard of his being so near, he writ a letter to him, by which "he required "him to stay at Belvoir till further order;" and reprehended him "for not having given obedience "to his former commands." Notwithstanding this command, he came the next day to Newark, and was met by the lord Gerrard, and sir Richard Willis, governor of the town, with one hundred horse, two miles in his way. About an hour after,

with this train, he came to the court; and found the king in the presence; and, without any ceremony, told his majesty, "that he was come to ren-
"der an account of the loss of Bristol, and to clear
"himself from those imputations which had been
"cast upon him." The king said very little to him; but, meat being brought up, went to supper; and, during that time, asked some questions of prince Maurice, without saying any thing to the other. After he had supped, he retired to his chamber, without admitting any farther discourse; and the prince returned to the governor's house, where he was well treated and lodged. The king, how displeased soever, thought it necessary to hear what prince Rupert would say, that he might with the more ease provide for his own escape from thence; which it was high time to make. So he appointed the next day to hear his defence, which the prince made with many protestations of "his
"innocence, and how impossible it was long to
"defend the fort, after the line was entered."
His majesty did not suspect his nephew to have any malicious design against his service, and had no mind to aggravate any circumstances which had accompanied that action; and therefore, after a day or two's debate, caused a short declaration to be drawn up, by which prince Rupert was absolved and cleared from any disloyalty, or treason, in the rendering of Bristol, but not of indiscretion. And so that matter was settled; upon which the king expected the prince should have departed, as himself resolved to prosecute the means for his own escape, without communicating it to him.

The change of the posture of the enemy, by

Pointz's coming to the north side of Trent, made his majesty resolve to begin his march on the Sunday night, being the twentieth of October; which he imparted to none but two or three of the nearest trust. But the differences were grown so high between the governor and the commissioners, (who were all the principal gentlemen of the country, and who had with all courage and fidelity adhered to the king from the beginning, and whose interest alone had preserved that place,) and had been so much improved by the mutual contests which had been between them in the presence of the king, that there was no possibility of reconciling them, and very little of preserving the garrison, but by the removal of the governor; which was so evident to the king, that he resolved on that expedient; and, on the Sunday morning, sent for sir Richard Willis into his bedchamber; and after very many gracious expressions of "the satisfaction he had "received in his service, and of the great abilities "he had to serve him," he told him, "his own "design to be gone that night; and that he re-"solved to take him with him, and to make him "captain of his horse guards, in the place of the "earl of Litchfield, who had been lately killed "before Chester," (which was a command equal to any subject,) "and that he would leave the lord "Bellasis governor of Newark, who being allied "to most of the gentlemen of the adjacent coun-"ties, and having a good estate there, would be "more acceptable to them." And his majesty condescended so far, as to tell him, "that he did "not hereby give a judgment on the commis-"sioners' side, who he declared had been to blame

" in many particulars; and that he himself could " not have an ampler vindication, than by the " honour and trust he now conferred upon him: " but he found it would be much easier to remove " him, than to reform the commissioners; who, " being many, could not be any other way united " in his service."

Sir Richard Willis appeared very much troubled; and excused the not taking the other command, " as a place of too great honour, and that his " fortune could not maintain him in that employ- " ment:" he said, " that his enemies would tri- " umph at his removal, and he should be looked " upon as cast out and disgraced." The king replied, " that he would take care and provide " for his support; and that he could not be looked " upon as disgraced, who was placed so near his " person; which, he told him, he would find to be " true, when he had thought a little of it." And so his majesty went out of his chamber, and presently to the church. When he returned from thence, he sat down to dinner; the lords, and other of his servants, retiring to their lodgings on the same business. Before the king had dined, sir Richard Willis, with both the princes, the lord Gerrard, and about twenty officers of the garrison, entered into the presence chamber: Willis addressed himself to the king, and told him, " that " what his majesty had said to him in private, was " now the public talk of the town, and very much " to his dishonour:" prince Rupert said, " that " sir Richard Willis was to be removed from his " government, for no fault that he had committed, " but for being his friend:" the lord Gerrard

added, "that it was the plot of the lord Digby, "who was a traitor, and he would prove him to "be so." The king was so surprised with this manner of behaviour, that he rose in some disorder from the table, and would have gone into his bedchamber; calling sir Richard Willis to follow him; who answered aloud, "that he had received "a public injury, and therefore that he expected a "public satisfaction." This, with what had passed [before], so provoked his majesty, that, with greater indignation than he was ever seen possessed with, he commanded them "to depart from his "presence, and to come no more into it;" and this with such circumstances in his looks and gesture, as well as words, that they appeared no less confounded; and departed the room, ashamed of what they had done; and yet as soon as they came to the governor's house, they sounded to horse, intending to be presently gone.

The noise of this unheard of insolence quickly brought the lords who were absent, and all the gentlemen who were in the town, to the king, with expressions full of duty, and a very tender sense of the usage he had endured. And there is no doubt, he could have proceeded in what manner he would against the offenders. But his majesty thought it best, on many considerations, to leave them to themselves, and to be punished by their own reflections; and presently declared the lord Bellasis to be governor; who immediately betook himself to his charge, and placed the guards in such a manner as he thought reasonable. In the afternoon, a petition and remonstrance was brought to the king, signed by the two princes, and about four and

twenty officers; in which they desired, "that sir "Richard Willis might receive a trial by a court of "war; and if they found him faulty, then to be "dismissed from his charge: and that, if this "might not be granted, they desired passes for "themselves, and as many horse as desired to go "with them." Withal, they said, "they hoped, "that his majesty would not look upon this action "of theirs as a mutiny." To the last, the king said, "he would not now christen it; but it looked "very like one. As for the court of war, he "would not make that a judge of his actions; but "for the passes, they should be immediately pre-"pared for as many as desired to have them." And the next morning the passes were sent to them; and in the afternoon they left the town; being in all about two hundred horse; and went to Wyverton, a small garrison depending upon Newark; where they stayed some days; and from thence went to Belvoir-castle; from whence they sent one of their number to the parliament, "to desire leave, and passes, to go beyond the "seas."

Besides the exceeding trouble and vexation that this action of his nephews, towards whom he had always expressed such tenderness and indulgence, gave the king, it broke the design he had for his present escape; which was not possible to be executed in that time; and Pointz and Rossiter drew every day nearer, and believed they had so encompassed him round, that it was not possible for him to get out of their hands. They had now besieged Shetford-house, a garrison belonging to Newark, and kept strong guards between that and Belvoir,

and stronger towards Litchfield; which was the way they most suspected his majesty to incline to; so that the truth is, nothing but Providence could conduct him out of that labyrinth: but the king gave not himself over. He had fixed now his resolution for Oxford, and sent a trusty messenger thither with directions, that the horse of that garrison should be ready, upon a day he appointed, between Banbury and Daventry. Then, upon Monday, the third of November, early in the morning, he sent a gentleman to Belvoir-castle, to be informed of the true state of the rebels' quarters, and to advertise sir Gervas Lucas, the governor of that garrison of his majesty's design to march thither that night, with order that his troops and guides should be ready at such an hour; but with an express charge, "that he should not acquaint "the princes, or any of their company, with it." And that gentleman being returned with very particular information, the resolution was taken "to "march that very night," but not published till an hour after the shutting the ports. Then order was given, "that all should be ready in the mar-"ket place, at ten of the clock;" and by that time the horse were all there, and were in number between four and five hundred, of the guards and of other loose regiments; they were all there put in order; and every man was placed in some troop; which done, about eleven of the clock, they began to march; the king himself in the head of his own troop marched in the middle of the whole body. By three of the clock in the morning they were at Belvoir; without the least interruption or alarm given. There sir Gervas Lucas, and his

troop, with good guides were ready; and attended his majesty till the break of day; by which time he was past those quarters which he most apprehended; but he was still to march between their garrisons; and therefore made no delay, but marched all that day; and passed near Burleigh upon the hill, a garrison of the enemy, from whence some horse waited upon the rear, and took and killed some men, who either negligently stayed behind, or whose horses were tired. Towards the evening the king was so very weary and tired, that he was even compelled to rest and sleep for the space of four hours, in a village within eight miles of Northampton. At ten of the clock that night, they begun to march again; and were, before day, the next morning past Daventry; and, before noon, came to Banbury; where the Oxford horse were ready, and waited upon his majesty, and conducted him safe to Oxford that day; and so he finished the most tedious and grievous march that ever king was exercised in, having been almost in perpetual motion from the loss of the battle of Naseby to this hour, with such a variety of dismal accidents as must have broken the spirits of any man who had not been the most magnanimous person in the world. At Oxford, the king found himself at rest and ease to revolve and reflect upon what was past, and to advise and consult of what was to be done, with persons of entire devotion to him, and of steady judgments; and presently after his coming thither, he writ that letter of the seventh of November; and, shortly after, the other of the seventh of December; both which are mentioned before, and set down at large.

The prince of Wales did not enjoy so much rest and ease in his quarters; for, upon the hurry of the retreat of the horse, which is mentioned before, and which indeed was full of confusion, very many of the trained bands of Cornwall broke loose, and run to their houses, pretending "they feared that the "horse would go into that county, and plunder "them;" for which fear they had the greater pretence, because, upon the retreat, many regiments had orders from the lord Wentworth to quarter in Cornwall; of which his highness was no sooner advertised, than he sent his orders positive, "that "no one regiment of horse should be there, but "that they should be all quartered on the Devon "side." And upon that, they were dispersed about the county, for the space of thirty miles breadth, as if no enemy had been within two days' march of them. There were now drawn together, and to be engaged together in one action against the enemy, all the horse and foot of the lord Goring; the command whereof, the lord Wentworth challenged to himself by deputation; the horse and foot of sir Richard Greenvil; and the horse and foot of general Digby, neither of which acknowledged a superiority in the other, besides the guards; which nobody pretended to command but the lord Capel. When the prince removed from Tavistock, the raising the blockade from Plymouth was absolutely necessary, and it was concluded, as hath been said, at a council of war, "that it would be fit for his "highness to remove to Launceston; whither the "trained bands and the rest of the foot should likewise come, and the horse march on the Devon-"shire side, and quarter most conveniently in that

" county." The care of the retreat, and bringing the provisions from Tavistock, was committed to sir Richard Greenvil; which was performed by him so negligently, that besides the disorders which he suffered in Tavistock, by the soldiers, a great part of the magazine of victuals, and three or four hundred pair of shoes, were left there; and so lost. The day after the prince came to Launceston, sir Richard Greenvil writ a letter to him, wherein he represented " the impossibility of keeping that army " together, or fighting with it in the condition it " was then in;" told him, " that he had, the night " before, sent directions to major general Harris," (who commanded the foot that came from Plymouth,) " to guard such a bridge; but that he re- " turned him word, that he would receive orders " from none but general Digby; that general Digby " said, that he would receive orders from none " but his highness; that a party of the lord Went- " worth's horse had the same night come into his " quarters, where his troop of guards and his fire- " locks were; that neither submitting to the com- " mand of the other, they had fallen foul, and two " or three men had been killed; that they con- " tinued still in the same place, drawn up one " against another; that it was absolutely necessary " his highness should constitute one superior offi- " cer, from whom all those independent officers " might receive orders; without which, it would " not be possible for that army to be kept together, " or do service; that for his own part, he knew " his severity and discipline had rendered him so " odious to the lord Goring's horse, that they " would sooner choose to serve the enemy, than

" receive orders from him;" therefore he desired his highness to constitute " the earl of Brentford, " or the lord Hopton, to command in chief, and " then he hoped, some good might be done against " the enemy."

The mischief was more visible by much than a remedy; it was evident some action must be with the enemy within few days, and what inconvenience would flow from any alteration, at such a conjuncture of time, was not hard to guess, when both officer and soldier were desirous to take any occasion, and to find any excuse to lay down their arms; and it was plain, though there were very few who could do good, there were enough that could do hurt; besides, whoever was fit to undertake so great a trust and charge, would be very hardly entreated to take upon him the command of a dissolute, undisciplined, wicked, beaten army, upon which he must engage his honour, and the hope of what was left, without having time to reform or instruct them. That which made the resolution easy was, that though there was little hope of doing good by any alteration in command, there was evident and demonstrable ruin attended no alteration; and they who were trusted might be accountable to the world, for not advising the prince to do that, which, how hopeless soever, only remained to be done.

And thereupon, on the fifteenth of January, his highness made an order, " that the lord Hopton " should take the charge of the whole army upon " him; and that the lord Wentworth should com- " mand all the horse, and sir Richard Greenvil the " foot." It was a heavy imposition, I confess,

upon the lord Hopton, (to the which nothing but the most abstracted duty and obedience could have submitted,) to take charge of those horse whom only their friends feared, and their enemies laughed at; being only terrible in plunder, and resolute in running away. Of all the trained bands of Cornwall, there were not three hundred left; and those, by some infusions from Greenvil and others, not so devoted to him as might have been expected. The rest of the foot (besides those who belonged to the lord Goring, which were two regiments of about four hundred) were the three regiments of about six hundred; which belonged to sir Richard Greenvil, and the officers of them entirely his creatures; and those belonging to general Digby, which were not above five hundred; to these were added (and were indeed the only men, except a small troop of his own under col. Rovill of horse and some foot, upon whose affection, courage, and duty he could rely; except some particular gentlemen, who could only undertake for themselves) about two hundred and fifty foot, and eight hundred horse of the guards; who were commanded by the lord Capel, and entirely to receive orders from his lordship. The lord Capel, to encourage him to undertake that melancholy charge, promising to accompany him throughout the expedition, as he nobly did.

The lord Hopton very generously told the prince, "that it was a custom now, when men were not "willing to submit to what they were enjoined, to "say, that it was against their honour; that their "honour would not suffer them to do this or that: "for his part, he could not obey his highness at "this time, without resolving to lose his honour,

" which he knew he must; but since his highness " thought it necessary to command him, he was " ready to obey him with the loss of his honour." Since the making of this order was concluded an act of absolute necessity, and the lord Hopton had so worthily submitted to it, it was positively resolved by his highness, " that it should be dutifully " submitted to by all other men; or that the re- " fusers should be exemplarily punished." There was not the least suspicion that sir Richard Greenvil would not willingly have submitted to it; but it was believed that the lord Wentworth, who had carried himself so high, and more insolently since his disorderly retreat than before, would have refused; which if he had done, it was resolved by the prince presently to have committed him, and to have desired the lord Capel to have taken the charge of the horse.

His highness sent sir Richard Greenvil a letter of thanks, " for the advice which he had given; " and which, he said, he had followed, as by the " enclosed order he might perceive; by which his " highness had committed the care and charge of " the whole army to the lord Hopton, appointing " that the lord Wentworth should command all the " horse, and sir Richard Greenvil all the foot, and " both to receive orders from the lord Hopton:" no man imagining it possible that, besides that he had given the advice, he could have refused that charge, by which he was to have a greater command than ever he had before, and was to be commanded by none but by whom he had often been formerly commanded. But the next day after he received that letter and order, contrary to all expectation,

he writ to his highness "to desire to be excused, "in respect of his indisposition of health;" expressing, "that he could do him better service in "getting up the soldiers who straggled in the "country, and in suppressing malignants;" and at the same time writ to the lord Colepepper, "that "he could not consent to be commanded by the "lord Hopton." It plainly appeared now, that his drift was to stay behind, and command Cornwall; with which, considering the premises, the prince thought he had no reason to trust him. He sent for him therefore, and told him "the extreme ill "consequence that would attend the public service, "if he should then, and in such a manner, quit the "charge his highness had committed to him; that "more should not be expected from him than was "agreeable to his health; and that if he took the "command upon him, he should take what adju-"tants he pleased to assist him." But notwithstanding all that the prince could say to him, or such of his friends who thought they had interest in him, he continued obstinate; and positively refused to take the charge, or to receive orders from the lord Hopton.

What should the prince have done? for besides the ill consequence of suffering himself to be in that manner contemned, at a time when the whole army was so indisposed, it was very evident, if Greenvil were at liberty, and the army once marched out of Cornwall, he would have put himself in the head of all the discontented party, and at least endeavoured to have hindered their retreat back into Cornwall, upon what occasion soever; and for the present that he would underhand have kept many

from marching with the army, upon the senseless pretence of defending their own country. So that, upon full consideration, his highness thought fit to commit him to prison to the governor of Launceston; and, within two or three days after, sent him to the mount; where he remained till the enemy was possessed of the county; when his highness, that he might by no means fall into their hands, gave him leave to transport himself beyond the seas.

The lord Wentworth, though he seemed much surprised with the order when he heard it read at the board, and desired "time to consider of it till "the next day, that he might confer with his "officers;" yet, when the prince told him, "that "he would not refer his acts to be scanned by the "officers; but that he should give his positive "answer, whether he would submit to it, or no; "and then his highness knew what he had to do;" he only desired "to consider till the afternoon;" and then he submitted; and went that night out of town to his quarters; of which most men were not glad, but rather wished (since they knew he would never obey cheerfully) that he would have put the prince to have made further alterations; which yet would have been accompanied with hazard enough. By this time the intelligence was certain of the loss of Dartmouth, which added neither courage nor numbers to our men; and the importunity was such from Exeter for present relief, that there seemed even a necessity of attempting somewhat towards it, upon how great disadvantage soever; and therefore the lord Hopton resolved to march by the way of Chimley; that so, being between

the enemy and Barnstable, he might borrow as many men out of the garrison, as could be spared; and so by strong parties at least to attempt upon their quarters. But it was likewise resolved, "that " in respect of the smallness of the numbers, and " the general indisposition, to say no worse, both " in officer and soldier, it would not be fit for " his highness to venture his own person with " the army; but that he should retire to Truro, " and reside there;" against which there were objections enough in view, which were however weighed down by greater.

He that had observed the temper of the gentry of that county towards sir Richard Greenvil, or the clamour of the common people against his oppression and tyranny, would not have believed, that such a necessary proceeding against him, at that time, could have been any unpopular act; there being scarce a day, in which some petition was not presented against him. As the prince passed through Bodmin, he received petitions from the wives of many substantial and honest men; amongst the rest, of the mayor of Listithiel; who was very eminently well affected and useful to the king's service; all whom Greenvil had committed to the common gaol, for presuming to fish in that river; the royalty of which he pretended belonged to him, by virtue of the sequestration, granted him by the king, of the lord Roberts's estate at Lanhetherick; whereas they who were committed, pretended a title, and had always used the liberty of fishing in those waters, as tenants to the prince of his highness's manor of Listithiel; there having been long suits between the lord Roberts and the tenants of

that manor, for that royalty. When he came to Tavistock, he was again petitioned by many women for the liberty of their husbands, whom sir Richard had committed to prison, for refusing to grind at his mill, " which, he said, they were bound by the " custom to do." So by his martial power he had asserted whatever civil interest he thought fit to lay claim to; and never discharged any man out of prison, till he absolutely submitted to his pleasure.

There were in the gaol at Launceston, at this time when himself was committed, at least thirty persons, constables and other men, whom he had committed, and imposed fines upon, some of three, four, and five hundred pounds, upon pretence of delinquency, (of which he was in no case a judge,) for the payment whereof they were detained in prison. Amongst the rest, was the mayor of St. Ives, one Hammond, who had then the reputation of an honest man; and was certified to be such by colonel Robinson the governor, and by all the neighbouring gentlemen. After the late insurrection there, which is spoken of before, he had given his bond to sir Richard Greenvil, of five hundred pound, to produce a young man, who was then absent, and accused to be a favourer of that mutiny, within so many days. The time expired before the man could be found; but within three days after the expiration of the term, the mayor sent the fellow to sir Richard Greenvil: but that would not satisfy; but he sent his marshal for the mayor himself, and required fifty pound of him for having forfeited his bond, and upon his refusal forthwith to pay it, committed him to the gaol at Launceston. The son of the mayor presented a petition to the prince, at Truro, for his father's liberty, setting

forth the matter of fact as it was, and annexing a very ample testimony of the good affection of the man. The petition was referred to sir Richard Greenvil, with direction, " that if the case were in " truth such, he should discharge him." As soon as the son brought this petition to him, he put it in his pocket; told him, " the prince understood not " the business;" and committed the son to gaol, and caused irons to be put upon him for his presumption. Upon a second petition to the prince, at Launceston, after the time that sir Richard himself was committed, he directed the lord Hopton, " upon " examination of the truth of it, to discharge the " man;" of which when sir Richard heard, he sent to the gaoler, and " forbad him, at his peril, to " discharge Hammond;" threatening him " to " make him pay the money;" and, after that, caused an action to be entered in the town-court at Launceston upon the forfeiture of the bond. Yet, after all this, he was no sooner committed by the prince, than even those who had complained of him as much as any, expressed great trouble; and many officers of those forces which he had commanded, in a tumultuous manner, petitioned for his release; and others took great pains to have the indisposition of the people, and the ill accidents that followed, imputed to that proceeding against sir Richard Greenvil; in which none were more forward, than some of the prince's own household servants; who were so tender of him, that they forgot their duty to their master.

It was Friday the sixth of February, before the lord Hopton could move from Launceston, for want of carriages for their ammunition, and provision of victual. Neither had he then carriages for above

half their little store, but relied upon the commissioners to send the remainder after; and so went to Torrington; where he resolved to fasten, till his provisions could be brought up, and he might receive certain intelligence of the motion and condition of the enemy. He had not continued there above four days, in which he had barricadoed, and made some little fastnesses about the town, when sir Thomas Fairfax advanced to Chimley, within eight miles of Torrington, with six thousand foot, three thousand five hundred horse, and five hundred dragoons; of which so near advance of the enemy (notwithstanding all the strict orders for keeping of guards; whereof one guard was, or was appointed to be, within two miles of Chimley) he had not known but by a lieutenant, who was accidentally plundering in those parts, and fell amongst them. So negligent and unfaithful were both officers and soldiers in their duty.

The lord Hopton having this intelligence of the strength and neighbourhood of the enemy, had his election of two things, either to retire into Cornwall, or to abide them where he was: the first, besides the disheartening of his men, seemed rather a deferring, than a preventing of any mischief that could befall him; for he foresaw, if he brought that great body of horse into Cornwall, the few that remained of the trained bands would immediately dissolve, and run to their houses; and the remainder of horse and foot, in a short time, be destroyed without an enemy. And therefore he rather chose, notwithstanding the great disadvantage of number in foot, to abide them in that place; where, if the enemy should attempt him in

so fast a quarter, he should defend himself with more advantage, than he could in any other place. And so he placed his guards, and appointed all men to their posts, having drawn in as many horse (such as on the sudden he could get) into the town, as he thought necessary; the rest being ordered to stand on a common, at the east end of the town. But the enemy forced the barricado in one place by the baseness of the foot; with which the horse in the town more basely received such a fright, that they could neither be made to charge, nor stand; but, in perfect confusion, run away; whose example all the foot upon the line, and at their other posts, followed; leaving their general (who was hurt in the face with a pike, and his horse killed under him) with two or three gentlemen, to shift for themselves; one of the officers publicly reporting, lest the soldiers should not make haste enough in running away, "that he saw their general run "through the body with a pike." The lord Hopton recovering a fresh horse, was compelled (being thus deserted by his men) to retire; which he did, to the borders of Cornwall; and stayed at Stratton two or three days, till about a thousand or twelve hundred of his foot came up to him. It was then in consultation, since there was no likelihood of making any stand against the enemy with such foot, and that it was visible that body of horse could not long subsist in Cornwall, whether the horse might not break through to Oxford; which, in respect of their great weariness, having stood two or three days and nights in the field, and the enemy's strength being drawn up within two miles of them, was concluded to be impossible. Besides

that there was at that time a confident assurance, by an express (sir D. Wyat) out of France, " of " four or five thousand foot to come from thence " within three weeks, or a month at farthest ;" those letters, and the messenger, averring, " that " most of the men were ready, when he came " away."

The enemy advanced to Stratton, and so to Launceston ; where Mr. Edgecomb, who had always pretended to be of the king's party, with his regiment of trained bands, joined with them ; and the lord Hopton retired to Bodmin ; the horse, officers and soldiers, notwithstanding all the strict orders, very negligently performing their duty ; insomuch as the lord Hopton protested, " that, from the time " he undertook the charge, to the hour of their " dissolving, scarce a party or guard appeared with " half the number appointed, or within two hours " of the time ;" and col. Goring's brigade, having the guard upon a down near Bodmin, drew off without orders, and without sending out a scout ; insomuch as the whole gross of the rebels were at daytime marched within three miles, before the foot in Bodmin had any notice. So that the lord Hopton was instantly forced to draw off his foot and carriages westward ; and kept the field that whole cold night, being the first of March ; but could not, by all his orders diligently sent out, draw any considerable body of horse to him by the end of the next day ; they having quartered themselves at pleasure over the country, many above twenty miles from Bodmin, and many running to the enemy ; and others purposely staying in their quarters, till the enemy came to dispossess them.

When, by the disorders and distractions of the army, which are before set down, his highness was persuaded to make his own residence in Cornwall, he came to Truro on the 12th day of February; where he received a letter from the king, directed to those four of the council who had signed that to his majesty at Tavistock. This letter was dated at Oxford the 5th of February, and contained these words:

"Yours from Tavistock hath fully satisfied me, "why my commands concerning prince Charles's "going beyond sea were not obeyed. And I like- "wise agree with you in opinion, that he is not to "go until there be an evident necessity; also ap- "proving very much of the steps whereby you "mean to do it. But withal, I reiterate my com- "mands to you for the prince's going over, when- "soever there shall be a visible hazard of his fall- "ing into the rebels' hands. In the mean time, I "like very well that he should be at the head of "the army; and so much the rather, for what I "shall now impart to you of my resolution, &c."

And so proceeded in the communication of his own design of taking the field; which was afterwards frustrated by the defeat of my lord Astley, and the ill success in the west.

The prince having stayed some days at Truro, went to Pendennis; intending only to recreate himself for two or three days, and to quicken the works, which were well advanced; his highness having issued all the money he could procure, towards the finishing of them. But, in the very morning that he meant to return to Truro, his army being then retired, and Fairfax at the edge

of Cornwall, the lord Hopton and the lord Capel sent advertisements, "that they had severally re-"ceived intelligence of a design to seize the per-"son of the prince; and that many persons of "quality of the country were privy to it." Hereupon the prince thought it most convenient to stay where he was, and so returned no more to Truro. The time of apparent danger was now in view, and if there were in truth any design of seizing the prince's person, they had reason to believe that some of his own servants were not strangers to it. The lords Capel and Hopton being at the army; only the prince, the lord Colepepper, and the chancellor of the exchequer, knew the king's pleasure, and what was to be done. And they two had no confidence, that they should have reputation enough to go through with it; the earl of Berkshire continuing very indisposed and jealous of France, whatever they discoursed to the contrary: the governor of the castle was old and fearful, and not resolute enough to be trusted; and his son, though a gallant gentleman, and worthy of any trust, had little credit with his father.

There was no letter from the king (though they had long before desired such a one, and proposed the form) fit to be publicly shewed, in which there were not some clauses which would have been applied to his majesty's disservice; especially if he should have been at London, which was then confidently averred by some, who swore "they met "him at Uxbridge." Therefore they concluded, "that the prince's going away must be the effect "of counsel upon necessity, and the appearance of "danger to his person, without any mention of the

" king's command." But how to procure this resolution from the council was the difficulty. They very well knew the lords' minds who were absent, but durst not own that knowledge, lest the design might be more suspected. In the end, having advised Baldwin Wake, to cause the frigate belonging to Hasdunck, and the other ships, to be ready upon an hour's warning; they proposed in council, when the lords Berkshire and Brentford were present, " to send Mr. Fanshaw to the army, to re-
" ceive opinion and advice of the lords that were
" there, what was best to be done with reference
" to the person of the prince, and whether it were
" fit to hazard himself in Pendennis;" which was accordingly done. And their lordships, according to the former agreement between them, returned their advice, " that it was not fit to adventure his
" highness in that castle, (which would not only
" not preserve his person, but probably, by his
" stay there, might be lost; which by his absence
" might defend itself,) and that he should remove
" to Jersey or Scilly." Which, upon Mr. Fanshaw's report, was unanimously consented to by the whole council.

But because Jersey had such a neighbourhood to France, and so might give the greater umbrage, and that Scilly was a part of Cornwall, and was by them all conceived a place of unquestionable strength, the public resolution was for Scilly, it being in their power, when they were at sea, to go for Jersey, if the wind was fair for one, and cross to the other. And so the resolution being imparted to no more that night, than was of absolute necessity, (for we apprehended clamour from the army,

from the country, and from that garrison in whose power the prince was,) the next morning, being Monday, the second of March, after the news was come that the army was retiring from Bodmin, and the enemy marching furiously after, and so men were sufficiently awakened with the apprehension of the prince's safety; the governor and his son were called into the council, and made acquainted with the prince's resolution, "that night "to embark himself for Scilly, being a part of "Cornwall; from whence, by such aids and relief, "as he hoped he should procure from France and "foreign parts, he should be best able to relieve "them." And accordingly, that night, about ten of the clock, he put himself on board; and on Wednesday in the afternoon by God's blessing arrived safe in Scilly; from whence, within two days, the lord Colepepper was sent into France, to acquaint the queen "with his highness's being "at Scilly; with the wants and incommodities of "that place; and to desire supply of men and "monies for the defence thereof, and the support "of his own person;" it being agreed in council, before the lord Colepepper's going from Scilly, "that if, upon advancement of the parliament fleet, "or any other apparent danger, his highness "should have cause to suspect the security of his "person there," (the strength of the place in no degree answering their expectation, or the fame of it,) "he would immediately embark himself in the "same frigate," (which attended there,) "and go "to Jersey."

When the lord Hopton found that he could put no restraint to the license of the soldiers, he called

a council of war to consider what was to be done. The principal officers of horse were so far from considering some means to put their men in order, and heart to face the enemy, that they declared in plain English, " that their men would never be " brought to fight;" and therefore proposed positively " to send for a treaty:" from which not one officer dissented, except only major general Web, who always professed against it. The lord Hopton told them, " it was a thing he could not consent to " without express leave from the prince, (who was " then at Pendennis-castle,) to whom he would " immediately despatch away an express;" hoping that, by that delay, he should be able to recover the officers to another resolution; or that, by the advance of the enemy, they would be compelled to fight. But they continued their importunity, and at last (no doubt by the advice of our own men; for many, both officers and soldiers, went every day in to them) a trumpet arrived from sir Thomas Fairfax with a letter to the lord Hopton, offering a treaty, and making some propositions to the officers and soldiers. His lordship communicated not this letter to above one or two, of principal trust; conceiving it not fit, in that disorder and dejectedness, to make it public. Hereupon, all the principal officers assemble together, (except the major general, [Web,]) and expressing much discontent that they might not see the letter, declare peremptorily to the lord Hopton, " that if he would " not consent to it, they were resolved to treat " themselves." And from this time they neither kept guards, nor performed any duty; their horse every day mingling with those of the enemy, with-

out any act of hostility. In this strait, the lord Hopton having sent his ammunition and foot into Pendennis, and the Mount, and declared, "that he "would neither treat for himself nor the garri-"sons," he gave the horse leave to treat; and thereupon those articles were concluded, by which that body of horse was dissolved; and himself and the lord Capel, with the first wind, went from the Mount to Scilly, to attend his highness; who was gone thither from Pendennis-castle, after the enemy's whole army was entered Cornwall.

Having left the prince in Scilly, so near the end of that ill year 1645, (for it was upon the three and twentieth of March,) that there will be no more occasion of mentioning him till the next year, and being now to leave Cornwall, it will be necessary to inform the reader of one particular. It is at large set down, in the former book, what proceedings there had been at Oxford against duke Hamilton; and how he had been first sent prisoner to Bristol, and from thence to Pendennis-castle in Cornwall. And since we shall hereafter find him acting a great part for the king, and general in the head of a great army, it would be very incongruous, after having spent so much time in Cornwall without so much as naming him, to leave men ignorant what became of him, and how he obtained his liberty; which he employed afterwards with so much zeal for the king's service to the loss of his life; by which he was not only vindicated, in the opinion of many honest men, from all those jealousies and aspersions, he had long suffered under; but the proceeding that had been against him, was looked upon by many as void of that justice and

policy, which had been requisite; and they concluded by what he did after a long imprisonment, how much he might have done more successfully, if he had never been restrained. Without doubt, what he did afterwards, and what he suffered, ought to free his memory from any reproaches for any errors, or weakness, of which he had before been guilty. What were the motives and inducements of his commitment, have been at large set down before in the proper place. It remains now, only to set down how he came at last to be possessed of his liberty, and why he obtained it no sooner, by other more gracious ways; which might have been an obligation upon him; when it might easily have been foreseen, that he would be, in a short time, at liberty, notwithstanding any opposition.

When the prince first visited Cornwall, to settle his own revenue of that duchy; which was the only support he had, and out of which he provided for the carrying on the king's service, upon many emergent occasions; he spent some days at Truro, to settle his imposition upon the tin, by virtue of his ancient privilege of preemption. And in that time, which was about the end of July, the governor of Pendennis-castle invited him to dine there; which his highness willingly accepted, that he might take a full view of the situation and strength thereof; having it then in his view, that he might probably be compelled to resort thither. Every man knew well that duke Hamilton was then a prisoner there, and therefore it was to be considered, what the prince was to do, if the duke should desire, as without doubt he would, to kiss his hand.

And it was resolved without dispute, " that the " prince was not to admit such a person into his " presence, who stood so much in his father's dis- " pleasure, and was committed to prison by him ; " and that none of the council, or of his highness's " servants, should visit, or enter into any kind of " correspondence with him." And thereupon the governor was advised, in regard the accommoda- tions in the castle were very narrow, " that, during " the time the prince was in the castle, the duke " should be removed out of his chamber into one " of the soldiers' houses ;" which was done accord- ingly. This the duke took very heavily, and lamented " that he might not be admitted to see " the prince ;" and had a desire to have conferred with the lord Colepepper, or the chancellor, which they were not then at liberty to have satisfied him in. And he afterwards renewed the same desire to them both, by his servant Mr. Hamilton. Here- upon, when the chancellor was shortly after sent to visit the ports of Padstow, the Mount, and Pen- dennis, which was about the middle of August, (the business being, under that disguise, to provide for the prince's transportation, when it should be necessary,) the prince referred it to him " to see " the duke, if he found it convenient." Hereupon, when he came to Pendennis, (being in the after- noon, and to stay there necessarily some days,) he was informed, " that the duke came always abroad " to meals, and that at that time all men spoke freely " with him :" so that, either he was to be made a close prisoner by his being there, or they were to meet at supper and dinner. And the governor then asked him, " whether the duke should come

" abroad." The chancellor had neither authority nor reason to make any alteration; therefore he told him, " he knew his own course, which he " presumed he would observe whoever came; and " that if the duke pleased, he would wait upon him " in his chamber, to kiss his hands before supper;" the which he did.

When the duke, after some civilities to him whom he had long known, and some reproaches to the governor, who was present, " of his very strict " usage and carriage towards him;" which, he said, he believed he could not justify, (whereas the chancellor well knew, that the governor was absolutely governed by him,) spoke to him of his own condition, and of " his misfortune to fall into his " majesty's displeasure, without having given him " any offence." He told him, " that he had very " much desired to speak with him, that he might " make a proposition to him, which he thought for " the king's service; and he desired, if it seemed " so to him, that he would find means to recom- " mend it to his majesty, and to procure his ac- " ceptance of it." Then he told him, " that he was " an absolute stranger to the affairs of both king- " doms, having no other intelligence, than what he " received from gentlemen whom he met in the " next room at dinner; but he believed, by his " majesty's late loss at Naseby, that his condition " in England was very much worse than his ser- " vants hoped it would have been; and therefore, " that it might concern him to transact his busi- " ness in Scotland as soon as might be: that he " knew not in what state the lord Mountrose was " in that kingdom, but he was persuaded that he

" was not without opposition." He said, " he was " confident that if he himself had his liberty, he " could do the king considerable service, and either " incline that nation powerfully to mediate a peace " in England, or positively to declare for the king, " and join with Mountrose." He said, " he knew, " it was believed by many, that the animosity was " so great from him to Mountrose, who indeed had " done him very causeless injuries, that he would " rather meditate revenge than concur with him in " any action: but, he said, he too well understood " his own danger, if the king and monarchy were " destroyed in this kingdom, to think of private " contention and matters of revenge, when the " public was so much at stake. And he must " acknowledge, how unjust soever the lord Mount- " rose had been to him, he had done the king " great service;" and therefore protested with many execrations, " he should join with him in " the king's behalf, as with a brother; and if he " could not win his own brother from the other " party, he would be as much against him." He said, " he could not apprehend that his liberty " could be any way prejudicial to the king; for he " would be a prisoner still upon his parole; and " would engage his honour, that if he found he " could not be able to do his majesty that accept- " able service which he desired, (of which he had " not the least doubt,) he would speedily return, " and render himself a prisoner again in the place " where he then was." In this discourse he made very great professions, and expressions of his devotion to the king's service, of his obligations to him,

and of the great confidence he had, in this particular, of being useful to his majesty.

After he made some pause, in expectation of what the chancellor would say, the chancellor told him, " he doubted not but he was very able to " serve the king both in that and in this kingdom; " there being very many in both who had a prin- " cipal dependence upon him: that he heard the " king was making some propositions to the Scot- " tish army in England, and that it would be a " great instance of his affection and fidelity to the " king, if by any message from him to his friends " and dependents in the Scottish army then before " Hereford, or to his friends in Scotland, his bro- " ther being the head or prime person of power " there that opposed Mountrose, they should de- " clare for the king, or appear willing to do him " service; and that he having free liberty to send, " through the parliament's army, to London, or " into Scotland, he might as soon do the king this " service, as receive a warrant for his enlargement; " which, he presumed, he knew could not be granted " but by the king himself."

The duke replied, " that he expected that answer, " but that it was not possible for him to do any " thing by message or letter, or any way but by " his presence: first, that they, in whom he had " interest, would look upon any thing he should " write, or any message he should send, as the " result of distress and compulsion, not of his af- " fection or judgment. Besides, he said, he looked " upon himself as very odious to that nation, which " was irreconciled to him for his zeal to the king,

" " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " "

" and thought this a just judgment of God upon " him for not adhering to them. And, he said, " for his own brother, who he heard indeed had " the greatest influence upon their counsels, he had " no reason to be confident in him, at that distance; " for, besides the extreme injury he had done him, " in making an escape from Oxford, by which both " their innocencies were made to be suspected, and " for which he should never forgive him, he was " the heir of the house and family; and, he be- " lieved, would be well content that himself should " grow old and die in prison: whereas, if he were " at liberty, and amongst them, he was confident " some for love, and others for fear, would stick to " him; and he should easily make it appear to those " who were fiercest against the king, that it con- " cerned their own interest to support the king in " his just power. However, he concluded, that " the worst that could come was his returning to " prison, which he would not fail to do." So the discourse ended for that night.

The next day the duke entered again into the same argument, with much earnestness, that the chancellor would interpose, upon that ground, for his liberty; who told him, " that he was so ill a " courtier, that he could not dissemble to him: " that he was not satisfied with his reasons, and " could not but believe, he had interest enough, at " that distance, to make some real demonstration " of his affection to the king, by the impression he " might make upon his dependents and allies: and " therefore that he could not offer any advice to " the king, to the purpose he desired." He told him, " that he had been present at the council table

" when the king communicated that business, which
" concerned him, to the board; and that he gave
" his opinion fully, and earnestly, for his commit-
" ment; being satisfied, upon the information that
" was given concerning him, that his affection to
" the king was very questionable; and that it ap-
" peared, that he had been earnestly pressed by
" those persons of honour in that kingdom, upon
" whom his majesty relied, to declare himself; and
" that if he could have been induced so to do,
" having promised the king he would, and having
" authority to that purpose from him, they might
" very easily have suppressed that rebellion in the
" bud: but that his lordship and his brother were
" so far from opposing it, that the very proclama-
" tion which had issued out there for the general
" insurrection (which proclamation was perused at
" council table, when he was committed) was not
" only set forth in his majesty's own name, but
" sealed with his signet; which was then in the
" custody of the earl of Lanrick his brother, he
" being secretary of state in that kingdom. That
" those who were the principal informers against
" him, and who professed that they could do no
" service, if he were at liberty, since his restraint,
" being armed with no more authority than he had,
" at his last being there, when the kingdom was in
" peace, had, upon all disadvantages imaginable,
" when that kingdom was totally lost to the king,
" reduced the greatest part of it again to his obe-
" dience; and therefore, whether it was his lord-
" ship's misfortune, or his fault, since things pros-
" pered so well in his absence, he could not, as a
" counsellor, advise the king, without the privity

" and consent of the lord Mountrose, or without " some such testimony of his service, as he had " before proposed, to give him his liberty: and " that any ill success, which possibly might have " no relation to that act, would yet be imputed to " that counsel; and the lord Mountrose have at " least a just or probable excuse, for any thing that " should happen amiss."

The duke thanked him for the freedom he had used towards him; and said, " upon the information " which was given against him, he must acknow- " ledge the proceedings to be very just; but he " was confident, whenever he should be admitted to " a fair hearing, he should appear very innocent " from the allegations which had been given." He said, " he had never made the least promise to " the king, which he had not exactly performed; " that he had not authority or power to cross any " thing that was done to the prejudice of the king; " and therefore to have made any such attempt, or " declaration, as some lords had desired, in that " conjuncture of time, had been to have destroyed " themselves to no purpose: and therefore, he " made haste to the king with such propositions " and overtures, that he was confident, if he had " been admitted to have spoken with his majesty, " at his coming to Oxford, he should have given " good satisfaction; and then intended immediately " to have returned into Scotland, with such author- " ity and countenance, as the king could well have " given him; and doubted not but to have pre- " vented any inconveniences from that kingdom: " but that by his imprisonment (which he could " have prevented, for he had notice upon his jour-

" ney, what was intended, and trusted so much in " his innocence, that he would not avoid it) all " those designs failed. For his brother, he could " say nothing; but he believed him an honest man; " and for the proceedings of the lord Mountrose, " though he had received good assistance from Ire- " land, which was a good foundation, he could not " but say, it had been little less than miraculous: " however, he presumed the work was not so near " done there, but that his assistance might be very " seasonable." After this they spoke often together; but this was the substance and result of all; he insisting upon his present liberty, and the other as pressing, that he would write to his friends. Yet the chancellor promised him " to present, by the " first convenience, his suit and proposition to the " king;" which he shortly after did in a letter to the lord Digby.

Upon the first news of the loss of the battle of Naseby, it was enough foreseen, that the prince himself might be put to a retreat to Pendennis-castle. And therefore they wished, " that it might " be in the prince's power, upon an emergent " occasion, to remove the duke from that place." Which consideration the lord Colepepper presented to the king, at his being with him in Wales; and thereupon a warrant was sent from the king, for the removal of the duke to Scilly; which was likewise foreseen that the prince might repair to. As the enemy drew nearer the west, many good men were very solicitous, that the duke should be removed from Pendennis, having a great jealousy of the interest he had in the governor; of which there was so universal a suspicion, that many letters were

writ to the council, " that if he were not speedily " disposed to some other place, they feared the " castle would be betrayed :" and sir Richard Greenvil writ earnestly to the prince about it, and sir Harry Killigrew (a person of entire affections to the king, and a true friend of the governor) very importunately. So that about the month of November, the king's warrant for his removal was sent to sir Arthur Basset, governor of the Mount; who went to Pendennis in the morning, and took him with him to the Mount, in order to remove him to Scilly, when the time should require it; the duke expressing great trouble and discontent that he should be removed, and pretending, " that he " could not ride for the stone," (of which he complained so much, that he had petitioned the king for leave to go into France to be cut,) and the governor, and all that family and garrison, made show of no less grief to part with him, he having begotten a great opinion in that people of his integrity and innocence. And when the duke saw there was no remedy, he mounted a horse that was provided for him, and passed the journey very well.

After the loss of Dartmouth, some persons of near trust about the prince resumed the discourse again of enlarging the duke, and believed that he would be able to do the king great service in the business of Scotland; and this prevailed so far with one of the lords of the council, that, upon the confidence of Dr. Frazier, the prince's physician, he made a journey with the doctor to the Mount; and did think, that he had so much prevailed with the duke, that he had consented " to send a servant " speedily to the Scottish army in England, (who

" should likewise pass by the king, and carry any " letters to his majesty from the prince,) to per- " suade them to comply with the king; and that " he would likewise despatch Charles Murray into " Scotland, instructed to his brother Lanrick, and " that party, to oblige them to join with Mount- " rose." But Dr. Frazier confessed to those he trusted, " that the duke rather consented to it to " satisfy that lord's vehemence and importunity, " than that he had any great hope of success by " it; insisting still, that nothing but his own " liberty would do it:" for which he gave a reason, that before had never been heard of, and was very contrary to what the duke had said to the chancellor, which was, " that the state of Scotland " was so sensible of the injury done to the duke " by his imprisonment, (which he had said before " that they were very glad of,) that they had made " an order, that there should never be a treaty " with the king, or agreeing with Mountrose, till " he was at liberty, or brought to a legal trial." And when Charles Murray went to him for his instructions, though he said much for him to say again to his friends, and his brother, towards their declaring for the king, he discouraged him much as to the journey, representing to him " his own " danger, and the strict orders that were in Scot- " land against divisive motions: of which, he said, " he feared this would be taken for one."

This made the council to have no mind to be engaged in any treaty with him, and less in proposing or consenting to his liberty; not only upon the former knowledge they had of his disposition and nature, in which they had no confidence, but

also that they believed, if he were not sincere, he would do much mischief; and the more for being in any degree trusted; if he were sincere, that he would be able to do more good for the king, by being redeemed out of prison by the enemy, than by being released by the king or prince. And therefore, when the prince removed in that haste and disorder from Pendennis to Scilly, there could be no possibility of stirring him; so that, at the surrender of the Mount, which was, by his advice, much sooner than they had reason to do it, when they were able to defend themselves for many months, he was enlarged, and removed himself to London by speedy journeys on horseback; and did never after complain of the stone; which he before protested "would kill him, if he were not "cut within a year."

We left the king in Oxford, free from the trouble and uneasiness of those perpetual and wandering marches, in which he had been so many months exercised; and quiet from all rude and insolent provocations. He was now amongst his true and faithful counsellors and servants, whose affection and loyalty had first engaged them in his service, and which stuck to him to the end; and who, if they were not able to give him assistance, to stem that mighty torrent that overbore both him and them, paid him still the duty that was due to him, and gave him no vexation when they could not give him comfort. There were yet some garrisons which remained in his obedience, which were like, during the winter season, to be preserved from any attempt of the enemy. But upon the approach of spring, if the king should be without an army in the field,

the fate of those few places was easy to be discerned. And which way an army could possibly be brought together, or where it should be raised, was not within the compass of the wisest man's comprehension. However, the more difficult it was, the more vigour was to be applied in the attempt. Worcester, as it was neighbouring to Wales, had the greatest outlet and elbow-room; and the parliament party that had gotten any footing there, behaved themselves with that insolence and tyranny, that even they who had called them thither, were weary of them, and ready to enter into any combination to destroy them. Upon this prospect, and some invitation, the king sent the lord Astley (whom he had before, at his being at Cardiff, constituted governor of those parts, in the place of the lord Gerrard) to Worcester, with order "to proceed, as he should find himself able, "towards the gathering a body of horse together, "against the spring, from those garrisons which "were left, and from Wales:" and what progress he made towards it will be part of the sad account which belongs to the next year.

When a full prospect, upon the most mature deliberation, was taken of all the hopes which might with any colour of reason be entertained; all that occurred, appeared so hopeless and desperate, that it was thought fit to resort to an old expedient, that had been found as desperate as any; which was a new overture for a treaty of peace: for which they who advised it had no other reason, but that they could not tell what else to do. Cromwell had left Fairfax about Exeter, and with a party selected had set down before Basing, and his impe-

rious summons having been rejected, he stormed the place and took it, and put most of the garrison to the sword: which so terrified other places, that Winchester shortly after rendered upon easy conditions. The lesser garrisons in the north, which had stood out till now, were rendered every day; and the Scottish army, which had marched as far as their own borders, was called back, and required to besiege Newark. So that whoever thought the sending to the parliament (puffed up and swoln with so many successes) for a peace, would prove to no purpose, was not yet able to tell, what was like to prove to better purpose. And this reflection alone prevailed with the king, who had enough experimented those inclinations, to refer entirely to the council, "to choose any ex-"pedient, they thought most probable to succeed, "and to prepare any message they would advise "his majesty to send to the parliament." And when they had considered it, the overtures he had already made, by two several messages, to which he had received no answer, were so ample, that they knew not what addition to make to them; but concluded, "that this message should contain "nothing but a resentment of that, and a demand "of an answer to the messages his majesty had "formerly sent for a treaty of peace."

And this message had the same entertainment which the former had received. It was received, read, and then laid aside without any debate; which they who wished well to it, had not credit or courage to advance; yet still found means to convey their advice to Oxford, "that the king "should not give over that importunity:" and they

who had little hopes of better effects from it, were yet of opinion, " that the neglecting those gracious " invitations, made by his majesty for peace, would " shortly make the parliament so odious, that they " would not dare long to continue in the same " obstinacy." The Scots were grieved and enraged, to see their idol presbytery so undervalued and slighted, that besides the Independents' power in the city, their very Assembly of Divines every day lost credit and authority to support it; and desired nothing more than a treaty for peace: and many others who had contributed most to the suppression of the king's power, were now much more afraid of their own army, than ever they had been of his authority; and believed, that if a treaty were once set on foot, it would not be in the power of the most violent to render it ineffectual: and whatever they believed themselves, they conveyed this to some about the king, as the concurrent advice of all who pretended to wish well: and some men took upon them to send the subject of what message the king should send, and clothed in such expressions, as they conceived were like to gain ground; which his majesty could not but graciously accept, though he very seldom imitated their style.

After the king had long expected an answer to his last message, induced by those and the like reasons above mentioned, he sent again to the parliament, " that they would send a safe conduct for " the duke of Richmond, and the earl of South- " ampton, Mr. John Ashburnham, and Mr. Geoffrey " Palmer; by whom he would make such parti- " cular propositions to them as he hoped would

" produce a peace." To this they returned an answer, such as it was, " that it would be incon-
" venient, and might be of dangerous consequence,
" to admit those lords and gentlemen to come into
" their quarters; but that they were preparing
" some propositions, which, when finished, should
" be sent to his majesty in bills, to be signed by
" him; which would be the only way to produce a
" peace." The king understood well what such bills would contain, and which when he had granted, he should have nothing left to deny; and therefore liked not, that such conclusions should be made without a treaty. He resolved once more to try another way, which having been never yet tried, he believed they could not deny; and if granted, what hazard soever his person should be in, he should discover, whether he had so many friends in the parliament and the city, as many men would persuade him to conclude; and whether the Scots had ever a thought of doing him service. He sent to them, towards the end of December, " that since all
" other overtures had proved ineffectual, he desired
" to enter into a personal treaty with the two
" houses of parliament at Westminster, and the
" commissioners of the parliament of Scotland,
" upon all matters which might conduce to the
" peace and happiness of the distracted kingdoms;
" and to that purpose his majesty would come to
" London, or Westminster, with such of his ser-
" vants as now attended him, and their followers,
" not exceeding in the whole the number of three
" hundred persons, if he might have the engage-
" ment of the two houses of parliament, the com-
" missioners of the parliament of Scotland, of the

" chief commanders in sir Thomas Fairfax's army,
" and of those of the Scottish army, for his free
" and safe coming to and abode in London, or
" Westminster, for the space of forty days; and
" after that time, for his free and safe repair to
" Oxford, Worcester, or Newark, if a peace should
" not be concluded: and for their better encourage-
" ment to hope well from this treaty, his majesty
" offered to settle the militia in such persons as
" should be acceptable to them."

This message indeed awakened them, and made them believe that the gamesters who were to play this game, looked into their hands, and hoped to find a party in their own quarters; and that, if they should neglect to send an answer to this message, their silence might be taken for consent, and that they should quickly hear the king was in London; which they did not wish. They made thereupon more than ordinary haste, to let his majesty know, " that there had been no delay on
" their parts; but for the personal treaty desired
" by his majesty, after so much innocent blood
" shed in the war by his commands and commis-
" sions," (with the mention of many other odious particulars,) " they conceived, that until satisfaction
" and security were first given to both kingdoms,
" his majesty's coming thither could not be conve-
" nient, nor by them assented to; nor did they
" apprehend it a means conducing to peace, to
" accept of a treaty for few days, with any thoughts
" or intentions of returning to hostility again."
They observed, " that his majesty desired the en-
" gagement, not only of the parliament, but of the
" chief commanders in sir Thomas Fairfax's army,

" and those of the Scottish army; which, they " said, was against the privilege and honour of " parliament, to have those joined with them, who " were subject and subordinate to their authority." They renewed what they had said in their last answer, " that they would shortly send some bills to " his majesty, the signing of which would be the " best way to procure a good and a safe peace."

And though the king was not willing to acquiesce with this stubborn rejection, but sent message upon message still to them for a better answer, and at last offered " to dismantle all his garrisons, and " to come to and reside with his parliament, if all " they who had adhered to him might be at liberty " to live in their own houses, and to enjoy their " own estates, without being obliged to take any " oaths, but what were enjoined by the law;" he could never procure any other answer from them. And lest all this should not appear affront enough, they published an ordinance, as they called it, " that if the king should, contrary to the advice " of the parliament already given to him, come, " or attempt to come, within the lines of commu- " nication, that then the committee of the militia " should raise such forces as they should think fit, " to prevent any tumult that might arise by his " coming, and to suppress any that should happen; " and to apprehend any who should come with " him, or resort to him; and to secure his person " from danger:" which was an expression they were not ashamed always to use, when there was no danger that threatened him, but what themselves contrived, and designed against him. To this their ordinance they added another injunction,

" that all who had ever borne arms for his ma-
" jesty" (whereof very many upon the surrender of garrisons, and liberty granted to them, by their articles upon those surrenders, were come thither)
" should immediately depart, and go out of Lon-
" don, upon penalty of being proceeded against as
" spies." So that all doors being, in this obstinate manner, shut against a treaty, all thoughts of that, at least with reference to the parliament, were laid aside; and all endeavours used to gather such a power together, as might make them see that his majesty was not out of all possibility of being yet able to defend himself.

Though all hopes, as I said, were desperate of any treaty with the parliament, and consequently many hazards were to be run, in the contriving a peace any other way; yet the sustaining the war, with any probability of success, was the next desirable thing to a peace, and preferable before any such peace, as was reasonably to be hoped for from the party that governed the army, which governed the parliament. The king therefore used all the means which occurred to him, or which were advised and proposed by others, to divide the independent party; and to prevail with some principal persons of them, to find their content and satisfaction in advancing the king's interest. That party comprehended many who were neither enemies to the state, or to the church, but desired heartily that a peace might be established upon the foundations of both, so their own particular ambitions might be complied with. And to them the king thought he might be able to propose very valuable compensations for any service they could

do him; and the power of the presbyterians, as they were in conjunction with the Scots, seemed no unnatural argument to work upon those, who professed to be swayed by matter of conscience in religion: since it was out of all question, that they should never find the least satisfaction to their scruples and their principles in church government, from those who pretended to erect the kingdom of Jesus Christ. And it was thought to be no ill presage towards the repairing of the fabric of the church of England, that its two mortal enemies, who had exposed it to so much persecution and oppression, hated each other as mortally, and laboured each other's destruction, with the same fury and zeal they had both proscribed her. And this reasonable imagination very much disposed the king, who was well acquainted with the unruly spirit and malice of the presbytery, to think it possible that he might receive some benefit from the independents; who were a faction newly grown up, and with which he was utterly unacquainted: and his majesty's extraordinary affection for the church made him the less weigh and consider the incompatibility and irreconcilableness of that faction with the government of the state; of which, it may be, he was the less sensible, because he thought nothing more impossible, than that the English nation should submit to any other than monarchical government. Then there were an over-active and busy kind of men, who still undertook to make overtures as agreeable to the wish of some principal leaders of that party, and as with their authority, and so prevailed with the king, to suffer some persons of credit near him, to make some

propositions, in his name, to particular persons. And it is very probable, that as the same men made the expectations of those people appear to the king much more reasonable and moderate, than in truth they were, so they persuaded the others to believe, that his majesty would yield to many more important concessions, than he would ever be induced to grant. And so either side had, in a short time, a clear view into each other's intentions, and quickly gave over any expectation of benefit that way; save that the independents were willing, that the king should cherish the hopes of their compliance, and the king as willing that they should believe that his majesty might be prevailed with to grant more, than at first he appeared resolved to do.

The truth is, though that party was most prevalent in the parliament, and comprehended all the superior officers of the army, (the general only excepted; who thought himself a presbyterian,) yet there were only three men, Vane, Cromwell, and Ireton, who governed and disposed all the rest according to their sentiments; and without doubt they had not yet published their dark designs to many of their own party, nor would their party, at that time, have been so numerous and considerable, if they had known, or but imagined, that they had entertained those thoughts of heart, which they grew every day less tender to conceal, and forward enough to discover.

But there was another intrigue now set on foot, with much more probability of success, both in respect of the thing itself, and the circumstances with which it came accompanied; and that was a

treaty with the Scots, by the interposition and mediation of the crown of France; which, to that purpose at this time, sent an envoy, one Montrevil, to London, with some formal address to the parliament, but intentionally to negociate between the king and the Scots; whose agent at Paris had given encouragement to the queen of England, then there, to hope that that nation would return to their duty; and the queen regent, in the great generosity of her heart, did really desire to contribute all that was in her power to the king's recovery. And to that purpose, she sent Montrevil at this time with credentials to the king, as well as to the parliament; by which the queen had opportunity to communicate her advice to the king her husband; and the envoy had authority "to engage "the faith of France, for the performance of what-"soever the king should promise to the Scots."

This was the first instance, and it will appear a very sorry one, that any sovereign prince gave, of wishing a reconciliation, or to put a period to the civil war in his majesty's dominions; towards the contrivance whereof, and the frequent fomenting it, too many of them contributed too much. The old mistaken and unhappy maxim, "that the crown "of England could balance the differences which "fell out between the princes of Europe, by its "inclining to either party," had made the ministers of that state too negligent in cultivating the affections of their neighbours by any real obligations; as if they were to be arbiters only in the differences which fell out between others, without being themselves liable to any impression of adverse fortune. This made the unexpected calamity that

befell this kingdom not ingrateful to its neighbours on all sides; who were willing to see it weakened and chastised by its own strokes.

Cardinal Richelieu, out of the natural haughtiness of his own nature, and immoderate appetite to do mischief, under the disguise of being jealous of the honour of his master, had discovered an implacable hatred against the English, from that unhappy provocation by the invasion of the Isle of Rhé, and the declared protection of Rochelle; and took the first opportunity, from the indisposition and murmurs of Scotland, to warm that people into rebellion, and saw the poison thereof prosper, and spread to his own wish; which he fomented by the French ambassador in the parliament, with all the venom of his heart; as hath been mentioned before. As he had not unwisely driven the queen mother out of France, or rather kept her from returning, when she had unadvisedly withdrawn herself from thence, so he was as vigilant to keep her daughter, the queen of England, from coming thither; which she resolved to have done, when she carried the princess royal into Holland; in hope to work upon the king her brother, to make such a seasonable declaration against the rebels of England and Scotland, as might terrify them from the farther prosecution of their wicked purposes. But it was made known to her, "that her presence would not be acceptable in "France;" and so, for the present, that enterprise was declined.

But that great cardinal being now dead, and the king himself within a short time after, the administration of the affairs of that kingdom, in the

infancy of the king, and under his mother, the queen regent, was committed to cardinal Mazarine, an Italian by birth, and subject to the king of Spain, and raised by Richelieu to the degree of a cardinal, for his great dexterity in putting Casal into the hands of France, when the Spaniard had given it up to him, as the nuncio of the pope, and in trust that it should remain in the possession of his holiness, till the title of the duke of Mantua should be determined. This cardinal was a man rather of different than contrary parts from his predecessor; and fitter to build upon the foundations which he had laid, than to have laid those foundations; and to cultivate, by artifice, dexterity, and dissimulation, (in which his nature and parts excelled,) what the other had begun with great resolution and vigour, and even gone through with invincible constancy and courage. So that, the one having broken the heart of all opposition and contradiction to the crown, by the cutting off the head of the duke of Montmorency, and reducing monsieur, the brother of the king, to the most tame submission, and incapacity of fomenting another rebellion, it was very easy for the other, to find a compliance from all men, who were sufficiently terrified from any contradiction. So that how great things soever this last minister performed for the service of that crown, during the minority of the king, they may all, in justice, be imputed to the prudence and providence of cardinal Richelieu; who had reduced and disposed the whole nation to an entire subjection and submission to what should be imposed upon them.

Cardinal Mazarine, when he came first to that

great ministry, was without any personal animosity against the person of the king, or the English nation; and was no otherwise delighted with the distraction and confusion they were both involved in, than as it disabled the whole people from making such a conjunction with the Spaniard, as might make the prosecution of that war (upon which his whole heart was set) the more difficult to him: which he had the more reason to apprehend by the residence of don Alonso de Cardenas, ambassador from the king of Spain, still at London, making all addresses to the parliament. When the queen had been compelled in the last year, upon the advance of the earl of Essex into the west, to transport herself out of Cornwall into France, she had found there as good a reception as she could expect; and received as many expressions of kindness from the queen regent, and as ample promises from the cardinal, as she could wish. So that she promised herself a very good effect from her journey; and did procure from him such a present supply of arms and ammunition, as, though of no great value in itself, she was willing to interpret, as a good evidence of the reality of his intentions. But the cardinal did not yet think the king's condition low enough; and rather desired, by administering little and ordinary supplies, to enable him to continue the struggle, than to see him victorious over his enemies; when he might more remember, how slender aid he had received, than that he had been assisted; and might make himself arbiter of the peace between the two crowns. And therefore he was more solicitous to keep a good correspondence with the parliament,

and to profess a neutrality between the king and them, than inclined to give them any jealousy, by appearing much concerned for the king.

But after the battle of Naseby was lost, and that the king seemed so totally defeated, that he had very little hope of appearing again in the head of an army, that might be able to resist the enemy, the cardinal was awakened to new apprehensions; and saw more cause to fear the monstrous power of the parliament, after they had totally subdued the king, than ever he had to apprehend the excess of greatness in the crown: and therefore, besides the frequent incitements he received from the generosity of the queen regent, who really desired to apply some substantial relief to the king, he was himself willing to receive any propositions from the queen of England, by which she thought that the king her husband's service might be advanced; and had always the dexterity and artifice, by letting things fall in his discourse, in the presence of those, who, he knew, would observe and report what they heard or conceived, to cause that to be proposed to him, which he had most mind to do, or to engage himself in. And so he had application enough from the covenanting party of Scotland (who from the beginning had depended upon France, by the encouragement and promises of cardinal Richelieu) to know how to direct them, to apply themselves to the queen of England, that they might come recommended by her majesty to him, as a good expedient for the king's service. For they were not now reserved in their complaints of the treatment they received from the parliament, and of the terrible apprehension they had of being disap-

pointed of all their hopes, by the prevalence of the independent army, and of their faction in both houses; and therefore wished nothing more, than a good opportunity to make a firm conjunction with the king; towards which they had all encouragement from the cardinal, if they made their address to the queen, and if her majesty would desire the cardinal to conduct it. And because many things must be promised, on the king's behalf, to the Scots upon this their engagement, "the crown of France should give credit and "engage as well that the Scots should perform "all that they should promise, as that the king "should make good whatsoever should be un- "dertaken by him, or by the queen on his "behalf."

This was the occasion and ground of sending monsieur Montrevil into England, as is mentioned before; and he arrived there in January, with as much credit as the queen regent could give him to the Scots, and as the queen of England could give him to the king; who likewise persuaded his majesty to believe, "that France was now become "really kind to him, and would engage all its "power to serve him; and that the cardinal was "well assured, that the Scots would behave them- "selves henceforwards very honestly;" which his majesty was willing to believe, when all other hopes had failed, and all the overtures made by him for a treaty had been rejected. But it was not long before he was undeceived; and discerned that this treaty was not like to produce better fruit, than his former overtures had done. For the first information he received from Montrevil, after his arrival in

England, and after he had conferred with the Scottish commissioners, was, "that they peremptorily "insisted upon his majesty's condescension and "promise, for the establishment of the presbyterian "government in England, as it was in Scotland; "without which, he said, there was no hope, that "they would ever join with his majesty;" and therefore the envoy pressed his majesty "to give "them satisfaction therein, as the advice of the "queen regent and the cardinal, and likewise of "the queen his wife;" which exceedingly troubled the king. And the Scots alleged confidently, "that the queen had expressly promised to sir "Robert Moray," (a cunning and a dexterous man, who had been employed by them to her majesty,) "that his majesty should consent there-"unto." And they produced a writing signed by the queen, and delivered to sir Robert Moray, wherein there were such expressions concerning religion, as nothing pleased the king; and made him look upon that negociation, as rather a conspiracy against the church between the Roman catholics and presbyterians, than as an expedient for his restoration, or preservation: and he was very much displeased with some persons, of near trust about the queen, to whose misinformation and advice he imputed what her majesty had done in that particular.

And thereupon he deferred not to let monsieur Montrevil know, "that the alteration of the go-"vernment in the church was expressly against "his conscience; and that he would never consent "to it; that what the queen his wife had seemed "to promise, proceeded from her not being well

" informed of the constitution of the government " of England; which could not consist with the " change that was proposed." But his majesty offered " to give all the assurance imaginable, and " hoped that the queen regent would engage her " royal word on his behalf in that particular, that " the maintenance and support of the episcopal " government in England should not in any degree " shake, or bring the least prejudice to that go- " vernment that was then settled in Scotland;" and, farther he offered, " that if the Scots should " desire to have the free exercise of their religion, " according to their own practice and custom, " whilst they should be at any time in England, " that he would assign them convenient places to " that purpose in London, or any other part of the " kingdom, where they should desire it." Nor could all the importunity or arguments, used by Montrevil, prevail with his majesty to enlarge those concessions, or in the least to recede from the positiveness of his resolution; though he informed him of " the dissatisfaction both the Scottish commis- " sioners, and the presbyterians in London had in " his majesty's resolution, and averseness from gra- " tifying them in that, which they always had, and " always would insist upon; and that the Scots " were resolved to have no more to do with his " majesty, but were resolved to agree with the in- " dependents; from whom they could have better " conditions than from him; and he feared such an " agreement was too far advanced already."

Many answers and replies passed between the king and Montrevil in cipher, and with all imaginable secrecy; in which, whatever reproaches were

cast upon him afterwards, he always gave the king very clear and impartial information of the temper and of the discourses of those people with whom he was to transact. And though he did, upon all occasions, with much earnestness, advise his majesty to consent to the unreasonable demands of the Scots, which, he did believe, he would be at last compelled to do, yet it is as certain, that he did use all the arguments the talent of his understanding, which was a very good one, could suggest to him, to persuade the Scots to be contented with what the king had so frankly offered and granted to them; and he did all he could to persuade and convince them, that their own preservation, and that of their nation, depended upon the preservation of the king, and the support of his regal authority. And it is very memorable, that, in answer to a letter which Montrevil writ to the king, and in which he persuaded his majesty to agree with the Scots upon their own demands, and, amongst other arguments, assured his majesty, "that the English "presbyterians were fully agreed with the Scots," (which his majesty believed they would never be,) the Scots having declared, "that they would never "insist upon the settling any other government "than was at that time practised in London;" urging many other successes, which they had at that time obtained; the king, after some expressions of his adhering to what he had formerly declared, used these words in his letter of the 21st of January to monsieur Montrevil; "Let them never "flatter themselves so with their good successes: "without pretending to prophecy, I will foretell "their ruin, except they agree with me; however

"it shall please God to dispose of me;" which they had great reason to remember after.

But because, though this treaty was begun, and proceeded so far as is recited, in the end of the present year, of the actions whereof we have given this account, yet it was carried on, and did not conclude, till some months after the next year was begun, we shall put an end to this relation of it at present, when the year 1645 (*O. S.*) expires, and resume [what remains] in its place of the year ensuing: only, before we finish our account of the actions of this unfortunate year forty-five, we must mention one more, which happened on the two and twentieth of March, just as the year was expiring.

His hope of drawing out of the few garrisons which remained, such a body of horse and foot, as might enable him to take the field early in the spring, though without any fixed design, was dashed by the total rout and defeat the lord Astley underwent; who being upon his march from Worcester towards Oxford, with two thousand horse and foot, and the king having appointed to meet him, with another body of fifteen hundred horse and foot, letters and orders miscarried, and were intercepted; whereby the enemy came to have notice of the resolution, and drew a much greater strength from their several garrisons of Gloucester, Warwick, Coventry, and Evesham. So that the lord Astley was no sooner upon his march, than they followed him; and the second day, after he had marched all night, and when he thought he had escaped all their quarters, they fell upon his wearied troops; which, though a bold and stout

resistance was made, were at last totally defeated; and the lord Astley himself, sir Charles Lucas, who was lieutenant general of the horse, and most of the other officers, who were not killed, were taken prisoners. The few who escaped, were so scattered and dispersed, that they never came together again; nor did there remain, from that minute, any possibility for the king to draw any other troops together in the field.

**THE END OF THE NINTH BOOK.**

# THE HISTORY OF THE REBELLION, &c.

## BOOK X.

THE actions of the last year were attended with so many dismal accidents and events, that there were no seeds of hope left to spring up in this ensuing ill year; for it was enough discerned how little success the treaty with the Scots would produce; which yet the king did not desire to put a period to, otherwise than by positively declaring, "that he would never consent to the alteration of "the church-government," but was willing enough that they should entertain any other hopes, and was not himself without hope, that, by satisfying the ambition and interest of particular men, he might mitigate the rigour of the presbyterian faction; and to that purpose monsieur Montrevil was gone from London to the Scottish army, then before Newark, having taken Oxford in his way, and so given an account to the king of his observations, and received from him such information and instruction as was necessary for the work in hand.

And in the mean time no ways were left untried to draw such a body of an army together, as might enable his majesty to make some attempt upon the enemy; and if he could, by all possible endeavours, have drawn out of all his garrisons left, a force of five thousand horse and foot, (which at that time seemed a thing not to be despaired of,) he did more desire to have lost his life, in some signal attempt upon any part of the enemy's army, than to have enjoyed any conditions which he foresaw he was ever like to obtain by treaty; and he was not out of hope of a body of five thousand foot to be landed in Cornwall, which his letters from France confidently promised, and which had been so much expected, and depended upon by the prince, that it kept him from transporting himself into Scilly, till Fairfax was marched (as hath been said before) within little more than twenty miles of Pendennis. For sir Dudley Wyat had been sent expressly from the lord Jermyn, to assure the prince, that such a body of five thousand foot were actually raised under the command of Ruvignie, and should be embarked for Pendennis within less than a month; and the lord Jermyn, in a post-script to that letter which he writ to the chancellor of the exchequer by sir Dudley Wyat, wished him not to be too strict in the computation of the month from the date of the letter, because there might be accidents of winds at that season; but he desired him to be confident, that they should be all landed within the expiration of six weeks, and by that measure to conduct the resolutions, and to decline fighting upon that account. And after all this, it is as true, that there was never a man at

this time levied or designed for that expedition, only the name of Ruvignie (because he was of the religion, and known to be a good officer) had been mentioned, in some loose discourse, by the cardinal, as one who would be very fit to command any troops which might be sent into England for the relief of the king; which the other, according to his natural credulity, thought to be warrant enough to give both the king and the prince that unreasonable expectation; the which and many other of that great lord's negociations and transactions, the succeeding and long continuing misfortunes, kept from being ever after examined, or considered and reflected upon.

The prince stayed in the isle of Scilly from Wednesday the 4th of March till Thursday the 16th of April, the wind having continued so contrary to the main, that the lords Capel and Hopton came not to him from Cornwall till the Saturday before; at which time likewise arrived a trumpeter from sir Thomas Fairfax, with such a message from the parliament to the prince as might well be called a summons, rather than an invitation; yet it was well it came not to Pendennis, where it would have found a party among the prince's servants. The next morning, being Sunday, a fleet of about twenty-seven or twenty-eight sail of ships encompassed the island; but within three or four hours, by a very notable tempest, which continued two days, they were dispersed. Upon this, and a clear determination of the weakness of the place, if it should be attacked by any considerable strength, (which both by the message and the attendants of it they had reason to apprehend,) together with

the extreme scarcity of provisions which that island afforded, and they had not been in that six weeks' stay supplied with victual for two days out of Cornwall, neither had there been any returns from France upon the lord Colepepper's application to the queen, which returns would every day grow more difficult by the season of the year, his highness inclined to remove to Jersey; against which it could be objected only of weight, the consideration of the king's being at London (which was strongly reported still) in a treaty; and then, that his highness's remove, especially if by distress of weather he should be forced into France, might be prejudicial to the king; and therefore it would be reasonable, first to expect some advertisement from his majesty in what condition he was. Hereupon his highness produced in council this ensuing letter from the king, which was writ shortly after the battle of Naseby, and which he had concealed till that morning from all the lords, and which truly, I think, was the only secret he had ever kept from the four he had trusted.

*Hereford, the 23d of June,* 1645.

" Charles,

" My late misfortunes remember me to com-
" mand you that which I hope you shall never
" have occasion to obey; it is this: if I should at
" any time be taken prisoner by the rebels, I com-
" mand you (upon my blessing) never to yield to
" any conditions, that are dishonourable, unsafe
" for your person, or derogatory to regal authority,
" upon any considerations whatsoever, though it
" were for the saving of my life; which in such a
" case, I am most confident, is in greatest security

" by your constant resolution, and not a whit the
" more in danger for their threatening, unless
" thereby you should yield to their desires. But
" let their resolutions be never so barbarous, the
" saving of my life by complying with them would
" make me end my days with torture, and disquiet
" of mind, not giving you my blessing, and cursing
" all the rest who are consenting to it. But your
" constancy will make me die cheerfully, praising
" God for giving me so gallant a son, and heaping
" my blessings on you; which you may be confi-
" dent (in such a case) will light on you. I charge
" you to keep this letter still safe by you, until you
" shall have cause to use it; and then, and not till
" then, to shew it to all your council; it being my
" command to them, as well as you; whom I pray
" God to make as prosperously glorious as any of
" the predecessors ever were of

" Your loving father, *Charles R.*"

After the reading this letter, and a consideration of the probability that the rebels would make some attempt upon his highness there, and the impossibility of resisting such an attempt in the condition the island then stood, it was by his highness with great earnestness proposed, and by the whole council (except the earl of Berkshire) unanimously advised, that the opportunity should be then laid hold on, whilst the rebels' ships were scattered; and that his highness should embark for Jersey; which he did accordingly on Thursday; and on the next day, being the 17th of April, with a most prosperous wind landed at Jersey; from whence, the same night, they sent an express to the queen,

of the prince's safe arrival in that island; and likewise letters to St. Maloes, and Havre de Grace, to advertise the lord Colepepper of the same; who received the information very seasonably, lying then at Havre with two frigates in expectation of a wind for Scilly, and with command to the prince, immediately to remove from thence. After the prince had taken an account of this island, both himself and all their lordships were of opinion, that it was a place of the greatest security, benefit, and conveniency to repose in, that could have been desired, and wished for; till upon a clear information, and observation of the king's condition, and the state of England, he should find a fit opportunity to stir; and the prince himself seemed to have the greatest averseness and resolution against going into France, except in case of danger of surprisal by the rebels, that could be imagined. In few days Mr. Progers, who had been despatched before (shortly upon the lord Colepepper's coming) from Paris for Scilly, being hindered by contrary winds till he received the news of the prince's being at Jersey, came thither, and brought this following letter from her majesty to the chancellor of the exchequer in cipher.

*Paris, the 5th of April*, 1646.

" My lord Colepepper must witness for me that " I have patiently, and at large, heard all that he " could say concerning the condition of Scilly, and " all that has been proposed for the rendering of " the prince of Wales's abode there safe; yet I " must confess to you, that I am so far from being " satisfied in that point, that I shall not sleep in

" quiet until I shall hear that the prince of Wales
" shall be removed from thence. It is confessed,
" it is not sufficiently fortified, and is accessible in
" divers places; and the manning the works will
" require a thousand men more than you have, or,
" for ought I see, can procure; neither can you
" be confident, that the loss of Cornwall may not
" suddenly have a dangerous influence upon that
" garrison; most of your soldiers being of that
" country. The power of the parliament at sea is
" so great, that you cannot rely upon the season-
" able and safe conveyance of such proportions of
" provisions, as so great a garrison will require:
" I need not remember you of what importance
" to the king, and all his party, the safety of the
" prince's person is; if he should fall into the re-
" bels' hands, the whole would thereby become
" desperate; therefore I must importunately con-
" jure you to intend this work, as the principal
" service you can do to the king, me, or the prince.
" Colepepper will tell you how I have strained to
" assist you with present provisions, shipping, and
" money, necessary for the prince's remove to
" Jersey; where, be confident of it, he shall want
" nothing. Besides, for satisfaction of others, I
" have moved the queen regent to give assurance,
" that if the prince, in his way to Jersey, should
" be necessitated, by contrary winds, or the danger
" of the parliament shipping, to touch in France,
" he should have all freedom and assistance from
" hence, in his immediate passage thither; which
" is granted with great cheerfulness and civility,
" and will be subscribed under the hands of the
" French king and queen, my brother, and cardinal

" Mazarine: therefore I hope all scruples are now " satisfied. Colepepper is hastening to you with " good frigates; but if you shall find any danger " before their arrival, I shall rely upon your care " not to omit any opportunity to prevent that dan- " ger, according to the resolution in council, which " Colepepper hath acquainted me with; for which " I thank you. I need not tell you how acceptable " this service will be to the king, who in every " letter presses me to write to you concerning my " son's safety; nor that I am, and always will be, " most constantly,

" Your assured friend, *Henriette Marie R.*"

The prince and council were very glad at the receipt of this letter, conceiving that they had now done all that could be required at their hands; though they were advertised at their first landing there, that there was still an expectation of the prince in France; and that he would be speedily importuned from thence; which they could not believe: but as soon as the lord Colepepper came, they plainly discerned that letter had been written upon advice to Scilly, foreseeing that an immediate journey into France would not have been submitted to; and that the instrument mentioned for his highness's quiet and uninterrupted passage through France to Jersey, was only a colour, the sooner to have invited the prince to have landed there, if there had been any accidents in his passage; but that the resolution was, that he should not then have come to Jersey, as it was now, that he should quickly come from thence; to which purpose, shortly after, came most importunate letters from

the queen; and it seems, howsoever all the late letters from the king to the prince before his coming out of England, were for his repair into Denmark, his majesty, upon what reasons I know not, conceived his highness to be in France; for after his coming to Jersey, this following letter was sent to him, by the lord Jermyn, in whose cipher it was writ, and deciphered by his lordship.

*Oxford, the 22d of March.*

" Charles,

" Hoping that this will find you safe with your " mother, I think fit to write this short but neces- " sary letter to you: then know, that your being " where you are, safe from the power of the rebels, " is, under God, either my greatest security, or " my certain ruin. For your constancy to religion, " obedience to me, and to the rules of honour, will " make these insolent men begin to hearken to " reason, when they shall see their injustice not " like to be crowned with quiet: but, if you depart " from those grounds for which I have all this " time fought, then your leaving this kingdom will " be (with too much probability) called sufficient " proof for many of the slanders heretofore laid " upon me: wherefore, once again, I command " you upon my blessing to be constant to your " religion, neither hearkening to Roman super- " stitions, nor the seditious and schismatical doc- " trines of the presbyterians and independents; " for, know that a persecuted church is not thereby " less pure, though less fortunate. For all other " things, I command you to be totally directed by " your mother, and (as subordinate to her) [by]

"the remainder of that council which I put to "you, at your parting from hence: and so God "bless you.

"*Charles R.*"

This letter, and the very passionate commands from the queen, together with what was privately said to his highness by the lord Colepepper, who from his being at Paris had changed his former opinions, and was (though he expressed it tenderly; finding a general aversion) positive for his going, wrought so far on the prince, that he discovered an inclination to the journey; whereupon the council presented at large to him, the inconveniences and dangers that naturally might be supposed would attend such a resolution: they remembered the carriage of the French since the beginning of this rebellion; how it had been originally fomented, and afterwards countenanced by them; and that they had never, in the least degree, assisted the king; that there was no evidence that, at that time, they were more inclined to him than to the rebels; that it would be necessary they should make some public declaration on his majesty's behalf, before the heir apparent of the crown should put himself into their hands. There was nothing omitted that could be thought of, to render that resolution at least to be of that importance that it ought to be throughly weighed and considered, before executed; and so, in the end they prevailed with the prince (since at that time it was not known where the king was) to send the lords Capel and Colepepper again to the queen, to pre-

sent the weightiness of the matter to her majesty. One of their instructions was as follows.

" You shall inform her majesty, that we have, " with all duty and submission, considered her " letters to us concerning our speedy repair into " the kingdom of France; the which direction we " conceive to be grounded upon her majesty's " apprehension of danger to our person by any " residence here; the contrary whereof, we be- " lieve, her majesty will be no sooner advertised " of, than she will hold us excused for not giving " that present obedience which we desire always " to yield to the least intimation of her majesty; " and therefore, you shall humbly acquaint her " majesty, that we have great reason to believe " this island to be defensible against a greater " force, than we suppose probable to be brought " against it. That the inhabitants of the island " express as much cheerfulness, unanimity, and " resolution for the defence of our person, by their " whole carriage, and particularly by a protestation " voluntarily undertaken by them, as can be de- " sired; and that, if, contrary to expectation, the " rebels should take the island, we can from the " castle (a place in itself of very great strength) " with the least hazard remove ourself to France; " which in case of imminent danger we resolve to " do. That our security being thus stated, we " beseech her majesty to consider, whether it be " not absolutely necessary, before any thought of " our remove from hence be entertained, that we " have as clear an information as may be got, of " the condition of our royal father, and the affec-

" tions of England; of the resolutions of the Scots " in England, and the strength of the lord Mount- " rose in Scotland; of the affairs in Ireland, and " the conclusion of the treaty there; that so, upon " a full and mature prospect upon the whole, we " may so dispose of our person as may be most for " the benefit and advantage of our royal father; " or patiently attend such an alteration and con- " juncture, as may administer a greater advantage " than is yet offered; and whether our remove out " of the dominions of our royal father (except upon " such a necessity, or apparent visible conveniency) " may not have an influence upon the affections of " the three kingdoms to the disadvantage of his " majesty."

Within two days after the two lords were gone for Paris, sir Dudley Wyat arrived with the news of the king's being gone out of Oxford, before the break of day, only with two servants, and to what place uncertain: it was believed by the queen, as she said in her letter to the prince, that he was gone for Ireland, or to the Scots; and therefore her majesty renewed her command for the prince's immediate repair into France; whereas the chief reason before was, that he would put himself into the Scots' hands; and therefore it was necessary that his highness should be in France, to go in the head of those forces which should be immediately sent out of that kingdom to assist his majesty.

The two lords found the queen much troubled, that the prince himself came not; and declared herself " not to be moved with any reasons that " were, or could be, given for his stay; and that " her resolution was positive and unalterable:" yet

they prevailed with her, to respite any positive declaration till she might receive full advertisement of the king's condition; who was by this time known to be in the Scottish army.

It is remembered before, that the prince, upon his arrival at Scilly, sent a gentleman to Ireland to the marquis of Ormond, as well that he might be punctually informed of the state of that kingdom, (of which there were several reports,) as that he might receive from thence a company or two of foot, for the better guard of that island; which he foresaw would be necessary, whether he should remain there or not. The gentleman had a very quick passage to Dublin, and came thither very quickly after the peace was agreed upon with the Irish catholics, and found the lord Digby there; who, after his enterprise, and disbanding in Scotland, had first transported himself into the isle of Man, and from thence into Ireland; where he had been received, with great kindness and generosity, by the marquis of Ormond, as a man who had been in so eminent a post in the king's council and affairs. He was a person of so rare a composition by nature and by art, (for nature alone could never have reached to it,) that he was so far from being ever dismayed upon any misfortune, (and greater variety of misfortunes never befell any man,) that he quickly recollected himself so vigorously, that he did really believe his condition to be improved by that ill accident; and that he had an opportunity thereby to gain a new stock of reputation and honour; and so he no sooner heard of the prince's being in the isle of Scilly, and of his condition, and the condition of that place, than he presently con-

cluded, that the prince's presence in Ireland would settle and compose all the factions there; reduce the kingdom to his majesty's service; and oblige the pope's nuncio, who was an enemy to the peace, to quit his ambitious designs. The lord lieutenant had so good an opinion of the expedient, that he could have been very well contented, that, when his highness had been forced to leave England, he had rather chosen to have made Ireland than Scilly his retreat; but, being a wise man, and having many difficulties before him in view, and the apprehension of many contingencies which might increase those difficulties, he would not take upon him to give advice in a point of so great importance; but, forthwith, having a couple of frigates ready, he caused an hundred men with their officers to be presently put on board, according to his highness's desire; and the lord Digby (who always concluded, that that was fit to be done which his first thoughts suggested to him, and never doubted the execution of any thing which he once thought fit to be attempted) put himself on board those vessels; resolving, that, upon the strength of his own reason, he should be able to persuade the prince, and the council which attended him, forthwith to quit Scilly, and to repair to Dublin; which, he did not doubt, might be brought to pass in that way, that would have been grateful to the lord lieutenant. But, by the sudden remove of the prince from Scilly, the two frigates from Dublin missed finding him there; and that lord, whose order they were obliged to observe, made all the haste he could to Jersey; where he arrived well, and found the prince, with many other of his friends, who attended his high-

ness, the two lords being gone but the day before to attend the queen: he lost no time in informing his highness of the happy state and condition of Ireland; that the peace was concluded; and an army of twelve thousand men ready to be transported into England; of the great zeal and affection the lord lieutenant had for his service; and that if his highness would repair thither, he should find the whole kingdom devoted to his service; and thereupon positively advised him, without farther deliberation, to put himself aboard those frigates; which were excellent sailers, and fit for his secure transportation.

The prince told him, "that it was a matter of "greater importance, than was fit to be executed "upon so short deliberation; that he no sooner "arrived at Jersey, than he received letters from "the queen his mother, requiring him forthwith to "come to Paris, where all things were provided for "his reception; that he had sent two of the lords "of the council to the queen, to excuse him for not "giving ready obedience to her commands; and to "assure her that he was in a place of unquestion-"able security; in which he might safely expect "to hear from the king his father before he took "any other resolution: that it would be very in-"congruous now to remove from thence, and to "go into Ireland, before his messengers' return "from Paris; in which time, he might reasonably "hope to hear from the king himself; and so "wished him to have patience till the matter was "more ripe for a determination." This reasonable answer gave him no satisfaction; he commended the prince's averseness from going into France;

" which, he said, was the most pernicious counsel " that ever could be given; that it was a thing the " king his father abhorred, and never would con- " sent to; and that he would take upon himself to " write to the queen, and to give her such solid " advice and reasons, that should infallibly convert " her from that desire, and that should abundantly " satisfy her that his going into Ireland was abso- " lutely necessary; but that a little delay in the " execution of it might deprive them of all the fruit " which was to be expected from that journey; and " therefore renewed his advice and importunity, for " losing no more time, but immediately to embark;" which when he saw was not like to prevail with his highness, he repaired to one of those of the privy council who attended the prince, with whom he had a particular friendship, and lamented to him the loss of such an occasion, which would inevitably restore the king; who would be equally ruined if the prince went into France; of which he spoke with all the detestation imaginable; and said, " he " was so far satisfied in his conscience of the benefit " that would redound from the one, and the ruin " which would inevitably fall out by the other, that, " he said, if the person with whom he held this " conference, would concur with him, he would " carry the prince into Ireland, even without and " against his consent." The other person answer- ed, " that it was not to be attempted without his " consent; nor could he imagine it possible to " bring it to pass, if they should both endeavour " it." He replied, " that he would invite the " prince on board the frigates to a collation; and " that he knew well he could so commend the

" vessels to him, that his own curiosity would easily " invite him to a view of them; and that as soon " as he was on board, he would cause the sails to " be hoisted up, and make no stay till he came into " Ireland."

The other was very angry with him for entertaining such imaginations; and told him, " they " neither agreed with his wisdom nor his duty;" and left him in despair of his conjunction, and, at the same time, of being able to compass it. He had no sooner discharged himself of this imagination, but in the instant (as he had a most pregnant fancy) he entertained another with the same vigour; and resolved, with all possible expedition, to find himself at Paris, not making the least question but that he should convert the queen from any farther thought of sending for the prince into France, and as easily obtain her consent and approbation for his repairing into Ireland; and he made as little doubt, with the queen's help, and by his own dexterity, to prevail with France to send a good supply of money by him into Ireland; by which he should acquire a most universal reputation, and be the most welcome man alive to the lord lieutenant: and transported with this happy auguration, he left Jersey; leaving at the same time his two ships, and his soldiers, and half a dozen gentlemen of quality, (who, upon his desire, and many promises, had kept him company from Ireland,) without one penny of money to subsist on during his absence.

As soon as he came to Paris, and had seen the queen, (whom he found very well inclined to do all she could for the relief of Ireland, but resolute to have the prince her son immediately with her, not-

withstanding all the reasons pressed against it by the lords of the king's council, who had been sent from Jersey,) he attended the cardinal; who understood him very well, and knew his foible; and received him with all the ceremony, and demonstration of respect, he could possibly express; entered upon the discourse of England; celebrated the part which he had acted upon that stage, in so many actions of courage, and sagacity, of the highest prudence and circumspection, with an indefatigable industry and fidelity. He told him, "that France found too late their own error; that "they had been very well content to see the king's "great puissance weakened by his domestic "troubles, which they wished only should keep "him from being able to hurt his neighbours; but "that they never had desired to see him at the "mercy of his own rebels, which they saw now "was like to be the case; and they were therefore "resolved to wed his interest in such a way and "manner, as the queen of England should desire;" in which he well knew how much her majesty would depend upon his lordship's counsel.

The cardinal said, "it was absolutely necessary, "since the crown of France resolved to wed the "king's interest, that the person of the prince of "Wales should reside in France; that the method "he had thought of proceeding in was, that the "queen of England should make choice of such a "person, whom she thought best affected, and "best qualified for such an employment, whom the "king of France would immediately send as his "extraordinary ambassador to the king and to the "parliament; that he should govern himself wholly

" by such instructions as the queen should give
" him; which, he knew, would be his lordship's
" work to prepare; that all things should be made
" ready as soon as the queen would nominate the
" ambassador; and that, upon the arrival of the
" prince of Wales in any part of France, as soon as
" notice should be sent to the court of it, (for
" which due preparation should be made,) the am-
" bassador should be in the same manner despatched
" for England, with one only instruction from
" France; which should be, that he should demand
" a speedy answer from the parliament, whether
" they would satisfy the demands the French court
" had made? which if they should refuse to do, he
" should forthwith, in the king his master's name,
" declare war against them, and immediately leave
" the kingdom, and return home; and then there
" should be quickly such an army ready, as was
" worthy for the prince of Wales to venture his
" own person in; and that he should have the
" honour to redeem and restore his father."

This discourse ended, the lord Digby wanted not language to extol the generosity and the magnanimity of the resolution, and to pay the cardinal all his compliments in his own coin, and, from thence, to enter upon the condition of Ireland; in which the cardinal presently interrupted him, and told him, " he knew well he was come from thence,
" and meant to return thither, and likewise the
" carriage of the nuncio. That the marquis of
" Ormond was too brave a gentleman, and had
" merited too much of his master to be deserted,
" and France was resolved not to do its business
" by halves, but to give the king's affairs an entire

" relief in all places; that he should carry a good
" supply of money with him into Ireland, and that
" arms and ammunition should be speedily sent
" after him, and such direction to their agent there,
" as should draw off all the Irish from the nuncio,
" who had not entirely given themselves up to the
" Spanish interest."

The noble person had that which he most desired; he was presently converted, and undertook to the queen, that he would presently convert all at Jersey; and that the prince should obey all her commands; and entered into consultation with her upon the election of an ambassador, and what instructions should be given him; which he took upon himself to prepare. Monsieur Bellievre was named by the queen, whom the cardinal had designed for that office. The cardinal approved the instructions, and caused six thousand pistoles to be paid to him, who was to go to Ireland; and though it was a much less sum than he had promised himself, from the magnificent expressions the cardinal had used to him, yet it provided well for his own occasions; so he left the queen with his usual professions, and confidence, and accompanied those lords to Jersey, who were to attend upon his highness with her majesty's orders for the prince's repair into France; for the advancement whereof the cardinal was so solicitous, that he writ a letter to the old prince of Condé, (which he knew he would forthwith send to the queen; as he did,) in which he said, " that he had received
" very certain advertisement out of England, that
" there were some persons about the prince of
" Wales in Jersey, who had undertaken to deliver

" his highness up into the hands of the parliament " for twenty thousand pistoles;" and this letter was forthwith sent by the queen to overtake the lords, that it might be shewed to the prince; and that they who attended upon him might discern what would be thought of them, if they dissuaded his highness from giving a present obedience to his mother's commands.

As soon as they came to Jersey, the lord Digby used all the means he could to persuade his friend to concur in his advice for the prince's immediate repair into France. He told him all that had passed between the cardinal and him, not leaving out any of the expressions of the high value his eminence had of his particular person: " that an ambassador " was chosen by his advice, and his instructions " drawn by him, from no part of which the ambas- " sador durst swerve;" (and, which is very wonderful, he did really believe for that time, that he had both nominated the ambassador, and that his instructions would be exactly observed by him; so great a power he had always over himself, that he could believe any thing which was grateful to him;) " that a war would be presently proclaimed upon " their refusal to do what the ambassador required, " and that there wanted nothing to the expediting " this great affair, but the prince's repairing into " France without farther delay; there being no " other question concerning that matter, than " whether his highness should stay in Jersey, " where there could be no question of his security, " until he could receive express direction from the " king his father; and therefore he conjured his " friend to concur in that advice; which would be

" very grateful to the queen, and be attended with " much benefit to himself;" telling him, " how " kind her majesty was to him, and how confident " she was of his service, and that if he should be " of another opinion, it would not hinder the prince " from going; who, he knew, was resolved to obey " his mother;" and so concluded his discourse, with those arguments which he thought were like to make most impression on him; and gave him the instructions by which the ambassador was to be guided.

His friend, who in truth loved him very heartily, though no man better knew his infirmities, told him, " whatever the prince would be disposed to " do, he could not change his opinion in point of " counsel, until the king's pleasure might be " known:" he put him in mind, " how he had " been before deceived at Oxford by the conte de " Harcourt, who was an ambassador likewise, as " we then thought, named by ourselves, and whose " instructions he had likewise drawn; and yet, he " could not but well remember how foully that " business had been managed, and how dis- " obligingly he himself had been treated by that " ambassador; and therefore he could not but " wonder, that the same artifices should again " prevail with him; and that he could imagine " that the instructions he had drawn would be at " all considered, or pursued, farther than they " might contribute to what the cardinal for the " present designed; of the integrity whereof, they " had no evidence, but had reason enough to " suspect it."

The lord Capel and the lord Colepepper stayed at Paris with the queen full three weeks; having only prevailed with her to suspend her present commands for the prince's remove from Jersey, until she should have clear intelligence where the king was, and how he was treated, though she declared a positive resolution that his highness should come to Paris, let the intelligence be what it could be; and, in the end, they were well assured that his majesty had put himself into the Scottish army as it lay before Newark; and that, as soon as he came thither, he had caused that garrison to deliver the town into the hands of the Scots; and that thereupon the Scots marched presently away to Newcastle: that they had pressed the king to do many things, which he had absolutely refused to do; and that thereupon they had put very strict guards upon his majesty, and would not permit any man to repair to him, or to speak with him; so that his majesty looked upon himself as a prisoner, and resolved to make another escape from them as soon as he could. Mr. Ashburnham, who attended upon him in his journey from Oxford as his sole servant, was forbid to come any more near him; and if he had not put himself on board a vessel, then at Newcastle, and bound for France, the Scots would have delivered him up to the parliament. Monsieur Montrevil, the French envoy, pretended that they were so incensed against him for briskly expostulating with them for their ill treatment of the king, that it was no longer safe for him to remain in their quarters, and more dangerous to return to London; and

therefore, he had likewise procured a Dutch ship to land him in France, and was come to Paris before the lords returned to Jersey.

The queen thought now she had more reason to be confirmed in her former resolution for the speedy remove of the prince, and it was pretended that he had brought a letter from the king, which was deciphered by the lord Jermyn; in which he said, "that he did believe that the prince could not be "safe any where but with the queen; and therefore "wished, that if he were not there already, he "should be speedily sent for;" and Montrevil professed to have a message by word of mouth to the same purpose: whereas Mr. Ashburnham, who left the king but the day before Montrevil, and was as entirely trusted by the king as any man in England, brought no such message; and confessed to the lord Capel, "that he thought it very pernicious "to the king that the prince should come into "France in that conjuncture, and before it was "known how the Scots would deal with him; and "that the king's opinion of the convenience of his "coming into France, could proceed from nothing "but the thought of his insecurity in Jersey." The lord Capel offered to undertake to make a journey himself to Newcastle, and to receive the king's positive commands, which he was sure would be submitted to, and obeyed by all the council as well as by himself: but the queen was positive, that, without any more delay, the prince should immediately repair to her; and, to that purpose, she sent the lord Jermyn (who was governor of Jersey) together with the lord Digby, the lord Wentworth, the lord Wilmot, and other lords and

gentlemen, who, with the two lords who had been sent to her by the prince, should make haste to Jersey to see her commands executed. Whilst they are upon their journey thither, it will be seasonable to inquire how the king came to involve himself in that perplexity, out of which he was never able afterwards to recover his liberty and freedom.

Monsieur Montrevil was a person utterly unknown to me, nor had I ever intercourse or correspondence with him; so that what I shall say of him cannot proceed from the effects of affection or prejudice, and if I shall say any thing for his vindication from those reproaches which he did, and yet lies under, both with the English and Scottish nation, countenanced enough by the discountenance he received from the cardinal after his return, when he was, after the first account he had given of his negociation, restrained from coming to the court, and forbid to remain in Paris, and lay under a formed, declared dislike till his death; which with grief of mind shortly ensued. But as it is no unusual hardheartedness in such chief ministers, to sacrifice such instruments, how innocent soever, to their own dark purposes, so it is probable, that temporary cloud would soon have vanished, and that it was only cast over him, that he might be thereby secluded from the conversation of the English court; which must have been reasonably very inquisitive, and might thereby have discovered somewhat which the other court was carefully to conceal: I say, if what I here set down of that transaction, shall appear some vindication of that gentleman from those imputations

under which his memory remains blasted, it can be imputed only to the love of truth, which ought, in common honesty, to be preserved in history as the soul of it, towards all persons who come to be mentioned in it; and since I have in my hands all the original letters which passed from him to the king, and the king's answers and directions thereupon, or such authentic copies thereof, as have been by myself examined with the originals, I take it to be a duty incumbent on me to absolve him from any guilt with which his memory lies unjustly charged, and to make a candid interpretation of those actions, which appear to have resulted from ingenuity, and upright intentions, how unsuccessful soever.

He was then a young gentleman of parts very equal to the trust the cardinal reposed in him, and to the employment he gave him; and of a nature not inclined to be made use of in ordinary dissimulation and cozenage. Whilst he took his measures only from the Scottish commissioners at London, and from those presbyterians whom he had opportunity to converse with there, he did not give the king the least encouragement to expect a conjunction, or any compliance from the one or the other, upon any cheaper price or condition than the whole alteration of the government of the church by bishops, and an entire conformity to the covenant; and he used all the arguments which occurred to him, to persuade his majesty that all other hopes of agreement with them were desperate; and when he saw his majesty unmoveable in that particular, and resolute to undergo the utmost event of war, before he would wound his peace of

mind, and conscience, with such an odious concession, he undertook that journey we mentioned in the end of the last year, to discover whether the same rude and rigid spirit, which governed those commissioners at Westminster, possessed also the chief officers of the Scottish army, and that committee of state that always remained with the army.

The Scottish army was then before Newark; and, in his passage thither, he waited upon the king at Oxford; and was confirmed in what he had reason before to be confident of, that it was absolutely impossible ever to prevail with his majesty to give up the church to the most impetuous demands they could make, or to the greatest necessity himself could be environed with; but as to any other concessions which might satisfy their ambition or their profit, which were always powerful and irresistible spells upon that people, he had ample authority and commission to comply with the most extravagant demands from persons like to make good what they undertook, except such propositions as might be mischievous to the marquis of Mountrose; whom the king resolved never to desert, nor any who had joined with and assisted him; all which, he desired to unite to those who might now be persuaded to serve him. His majesty, for his better information, recommended him to some persons who had then command in the Scottish army; of whose affections and inclinations to his service, he had as much confidence, at least, as he ought to have; and of their credit, and courage, and interest, a greater than was due to them.

When he [Montrevil] came to the army, and after he had endeavoured to undeceive those who had been persuaded to believe, that a peremptory and obstinate insisting upon the alteration of the church-government (the expectation and assurance whereof had indeed first enabled them to make that expedition) would at last prevail over the king's spirit, as it had done in Scotland, he found those in whom the power, at least the command of the army was, much more moderate than he expected, and the committee which presided in the counsels, rather devising and projecting expedients how they might recede from the rigour of their former demands, than peremptory to adhere to them, and willing he should believe that they stayed for the coming of the chancellor out of Scotland, who was daily expected, before they would declare their resolution; not that they were, for the present, without one. They were very much pleased that the king offered, and desired to come to them, and remain in the army with them, if he might be secured of a good reception for himself, and security for his servants who should attend him, and his friends who should resort to him; and the principal officers of the army spoke of that, as a thing they so much wished, that it could be in nobody's power to hinder it, if there were any who would attempt it; and they who had the greatest power in the conduct of the most secret counsels, took pains to be thought to have much franker resolutions in that particular, than they thought yet seasonable to express in direct undertakings; and employed those who were known to be most entirely trusted by them, and some of those who

had been recommended to him by the king, to assure him that he might confidently advise his majesty to repair to the army, upon the terms himself had proposed; and that they would send a good body of their horse, to meet his majesty at any place he should appoint to conduct him in safety to them. Upon which encouragement he prepared a paper to be signed by himself, and sent to the king as his engagement; and shewed it to those who had been most clear to him in their expressions of duty to the king; and which, being approved by them, he sent by the other who had appeared to him to be trusted by those who were in the highest trust to be communicated to them, who had in a manner excused themselves for being so reserved towards him, as if required in that conjuncture of their affairs, when there evidently appeared to be the most hostile jealousy between the independent army and them. When the paper was likewise returned to him with approbation after their perusal, he sent it to the king; in these words faithfully translated out of the original.

[" I do promise[a], in the name of the king " and queen regent, (my master and mistress,) " and by virtue of the powers that I have from " their majesties, that if the king of Great Bri- " tain shall put himself into the Scottish army, " he shall be there received as their natural sove- " reign; and that he shall be with them in all " freedom of his conscience and honour; and that " all such of his subjects and servants as shall be " there with him, shall be safely and honourably

[a This engagement is copied from the Clarendon State Papers.]

" protected in their persons; and that the said " Scots shall really and effectually join with the " said king of Great Britain, and also receive all " such persons as shall come in unto him, and " join with them for his majesty's preservation: " and that they shall protect all his majesty's party " to the utmost of their power, as his majesty will " command all those under his obedience to do the " like to them; and that they shall employ their " armies and forces, to assist his majesty in the " procuring of a happy and well grounded peace, " for the good of his majesty and his said king- " doms, and in recovery of his majesty's just " rights. In witness whereof I have hereunto put " my hand and seal this first of April 1646.

" *De Montrevil, résident pour sa majestée*
" *tres Chrétienne en Ecosse.*"]

Many days had not passed after the sending that express, when he found such chagrin, and tergiversation, in some of those he had treated with, one man denying what he had said to himself, and another disclaiming the having given such a man authority to say that from him which the other still avowed he had done, that Montrevil thought himself obliged, with all speed, to advertise his majesty of the foul change, and to dissuade him from venturing his person in the power of such men: but the express who carried that letter was taken prisoner; and though he made his escape, and preserved his letter, he could not proceed in his journey; and was compelled to return to him who sent him; and by that time, he having informed the committee, what he had done to vindicate himself from being made a property by

them to betray the king, and expressed a deep resentment of the injury done to the king his master, and to himself, in their receding from what they had promised, they appeared again to be of another temper, and very much to desire his majesty's presence in the army; and to that purpose, they promised, as an unanimous resolution, "that "they would send a considerable party of horse to "meet his majesty at Burton upon Trent; and "that they could not advance farther with the "whole party; but that some horse should be "sent to wait upon his majesty at Bosworth, "which is the middle way between Burton and "Harborough, whither they hoped his own horse "would be able to convey him securely;" they desired "the king to appoint the day, and they "would not fail to be there." They wished, "that "when their troops should meet his majesty, he "would tell them that he was going into Scotland; "upon which, they would find themselves obliged "to attend him into their army, without being able "to discover any thing of a treaty; of which the "parliament ought yet to receive no advertise-"ment:" of all which Montrevil gave the king a very full and plain narration, together with what he had written before, by his letter of the 15th of the same April, to secretary Nicholas; and, in the same letter, he informed his majesty, "that they did not "desire that any of those forces which had followed "the king's party, should join with them, no nor "so much as those horse that should have accom-"panied his majesty, should remain in their army "with him: that they had with much ado agreed, "that the two princes" (for his majesty, upon prince Rupert's humble submission, was reconciled

to both his nephews) " might follow the king, " with such other of his servants as were not ex- " cepted from pardon; and that those three might " stay with his majesty until the parliament of " England should demand them; in which case " they could not refuse to deliver them; but that " they would first furnish them with some means " of getting beyond seas."

The king had proposed, " that there might be a " union between them and the marquis of Mount- " rose; and that his forces might be joined with " their army;" which they had said, " they could " not consent to, with reference to the person of " Mountrose; who, after so much blood spilt by " him of many of the greatest families, they " thought could not be safe among them:" where- upon the king had declared, that " he would send " him his extraordinary ambassador into France;" which they appeared not to contradict, but had now changed their mind; of which Montrevil like- wise gave an account in the same letter: " that " they could not give their consent that the mar- " quis of Mountrose should go ambassador into " France, but into any other place, he might; and " that they again, though without limiting the " time, insisted upon settling the presbyterian go- " vernment;" and he concluded his letter with these words, " I will say no more but this, that his " majesty and you know the Scots better than I " do: I represent these things nakedly to you, as " I am obliged to do; I have not taken upon me " the boldness to give any counsel to his majesty; " yet if he hath any other refuge, or means to make " better conditions, I think he ought not to accept " of these; but if he sees all things desperate every

" where else, and that he and his servants cannot " be secure with his parliament of England, I dare " yet assure him, that though he and his servants " may not be here with all that satisfaction perhaps " which he might desire, yet he especially shall be " as secure as possible."

In another letter dated the next day after (the 16th of April) to the same secretary, he hath these words; " I have orders from the deputies of Scot- " land to assure you, that they will not herein " fail," (which related to sending the horse to meet his majesty,) " as soon as they shall know " his day; and that the king shall be received into " the army as hath been promised; and that his " conscience shall not be forced." And in the last letter, which his majesty or the secretary received from him, and which was dated the 20th of April 1646, there are these words: " They tell me that " they will do more than can be expressed; but let " not his majesty hope for any more than I send " him word of; that he may not be deceived; " and let him take his measures aright; for cer- " tainly the enterprise is full of danger:" yet, in the same letter, he says, " the disposition of the " chiefs of the Scottish army is such as the king " can desire; they begin to draw off their troops " towards Burton, and the hindering his majesty " from falling into the hands of the English is of so " great importance to them, that it cannot be be- " lieved but that they will do all that lies in their " power to hinder it."

This was the proceeding of monsieur Montrevil in that whole transaction: and if he were too sanguine upon his first conversation with the officers of the Scottish army, and some of the committee,

and when he signed that engagement upon the first of April, he made haste to retract that confidence, and was in all his despatches afterwards phlegmatic enough; and, after his majesty had put himself into their hands, he did honestly and stoutly charge all the particular persons with the promises and engagements they had given to him, and did all he could to make the cardinal sensible of the indignity that was offered to that crown in the violation of those promises and engagements; which was the reason of his being commanded to return home, as soon as the king came to Newcastle; lest his too keen resentment might irritate the Scots, and make it appear to the parliament how far France was engaged in that whole negociation; which the cardinal had no mind should appear to the world: and there can be no doubt, but that the cautions and animadversions which the king received from Montrevil after his engagement, would have diverted him from that enterprise, if his majesty had discerned any other course to take that had been preferable even to the hazard that he saw he must undergo with the Scots; but he was clearly destitute of any other refuge. Every day brought the news of the loss of some garrison; and as Oxford was already blocked up at a distance, by those horse which Fairfax had sent out of the west to that purpose, or to wait upon the king, and follow him close, if he should remove out of Oxford; so he had soon reduced Exeter, and some other garrisons in Devonshire. The governors then, when there was no visible and apparent hope of being relieved, thought that they might deliver up their garrisons before they were

pressed with the last extremities, that they might obtain the better conditions; and yet it was observed that better and more honourable conditions were not given to any, than to those who kept the places they were trusted with, till they had not one day's victual left; of which we shall observe more hereafter. By this means Fairfax was within three days of Oxford before the king left it, or fully resolved what to do.

His majesty had before sent to two eminent commanders of name, who had blocked up the town at a distance, "that if they would pass their "words," (how slender a security soever, from such men who had broken so many oaths, for the safety of the king,) "that they would immediately con-"duct him to the parliament, he would have put "himself into their hands;" for he was yet persuaded to think so well of the city of London, that he would not have been unwilling to have found himself there: but those officers would submit to no such engagements; and great care was taken to have strict guards round about London, that he might not get thither. What should the king do? There was one thing most formidable to him, which he was resolved to avoid, that was, to be enclosed in Oxford, and so to be given up, or taken, when the town should be surrendered, as a prisoner to the independents' army; which he was advertised, from all hands, would treat him very barbarously.

In this perplexity, he chose rather to commit himself to the Scottish army; which yet he did not trust so far as to give them notice of his journey, by sending for a party of their horse to meet

him, as they had proffered; but early in the morning, upon the 27th day of April, he went out of Oxford, attended only by John Ashburnham, and a scholar, (one Hudson,) who understood the by-ways as well as the common, and was indeed a very skilful guide. In this equipage he left Oxford on a Monday, leaving those of his council in Oxford who were privy to his going out, not informed whether he would go to the Scottish army, or get privately into London, and lie there concealed, till he might choose that which was best; and it was generally believed, that he had not within himself at that time a fixed resolution what he would do; which was the more credited because it was nine days after his leaving Oxford, before it was known where the king was; insomuch as Fairfax, who came before it the fifth day after his majesty was gone, was sat down, and had made his circumvallation about Oxford, before he knew that the king was in the Scottish army; but the king had wasted that time in several places, whereof some were gentlemen's houses, (where he was not unknown, though untaken notice of,) purposely to be informed of the condition of the marquis of Mountrose, and to find some secure passage that he might find himself with him; which he did exceedingly desire; but in the end, went into the Scottish army before Newark, and sent for Montrevil to come to him.

It was very early in the morning when the king went to the general's lodging, and discovered himself to him; who either was, or seemed to be, exceedingly surprised and confounded at his majesty's presence; and knew not what to say; but pre-

sently gave notice of it to the committee, who were no less perplexed. An express was presently sent to the parliament at Westminster, to inform them of the unexpected news, as a thing they had not the least imagination of. The parliament were so disordered with the intelligence, that at first they resolved to command their general to raise the siege before Oxford, and to march with all expedition to Newark; but the Scottish commissioners at London diverted them from that, by assuring them, "that all their orders would meet with an "absolute obedience in their army;" so they made a short despatch to them, in which it was evident that they believed the king had gone to them by invitation, and not out of his own free choice; and implying, "that they should shortly receive farther "direction from them;" and in the mean time, "that they should carefully watch that his majesty "did not dispose himself to go some whither else." The great care in the army was, that there might be only respect and good manners shewed towards the king, without any thing of affection or dependence; and therefore the general never asked the word of him, or any orders, nor suffered the officers of the army to resort to, or to have any discourse with his majesty. Montrevil was ill looked upon, as the man who had brought this inconvenience upon them without their consent; but he was not frighted from owning and declaring what had passed between them, what they had promised, and what they were engaged to do. However, though the king liked not the treatment he received, he was not without apprehension, that Fairfax might be forthwith appointed to decline all

other enterprises, and to bring himself near the Scottish army, they being too near together already; and therefore he forthwith gave order to the lord Bellasis to surrender Newark, that the Scots might march northward; which they resolved to do; and he giving up that place, which he could have defended for some months longer from that enemy, upon honourable conditions, that army with great expedition marched towards Newcastle; which the king was glad of, though their behaviour to him was still the same; and great strictness used that he might not confer with any man who was not well known to them, much less receive letters from any.

It was an observation in that time, that the first publishing of extraordinary news was from the pulpit; and by the preacher's text, and his manner of discourse upon it, the auditors might judge, and commonly foresaw, what was like to be next done in the parliament or council of state. The first sermon that was preached before the king, after the army rose from Newark to march northwards, was upon the 19th chapter of the 2d Book of Samuel, the 41st, 42d, and 43d verses.

41. *And, behold, all the men of Israel came to the king, and said unto the king, Why have our brethren the men of Judah stolen thee away, and have brought the king, and his household, and all David's men with him, over Jordan?*

42. *And all the men of Judah answered the men of Israel, Because the king is near of kin to us: wherefore then be ye angry for this mat-*

*ter? have we eaten at all of the king's cost? or hath he given us any gift?*

43. *And the men of Israel answered the men of Judah, and said, We have ten parts in the king, and we have also more right in David than ye: why then did ye despise us, that our advice should not be first had in bringing back our king? And the words of the men of Judah were fiercer than the words of the men of Israel.*

Upon which words, the preacher gave men cause to believe, that now they had gotten their king, they resolved to keep him, and to adhere to him. But his majesty came no sooner to Newcastle, than both monsieur Montrevil was restrained from having any conference with him, and Mr. Ashburnham was advised "to shift for himself, or else that he "should be delivered up to the parliament;" and both the one and the other were come to Paris when the queen sent those lords to hasten the prince's remove from Jersey.

When those lords, with their great train, came to Jersey, which was towards the end of June, they brought with them a letter from the queen to the prince; in which she told him, "that she was "now fully satisfied, from the intelligence she had "from Newcastle and London, that he could not "make any longer residence in Jersey without "apparent danger of falling into the enemy's "hands; and that if he should continue there, all "possible attempts would be suddenly made, as "well by treachery as by force, to get his person "into their power; and therefore her majesty did

" positively require him to give immediate obedi-
" ence to the king's commands, mentioned in the
" letter which he had lately sent by sir Dudley
" Wyat," (which is set out before,) " and reiterated
" in a letter which she had since received from
" the king by monsieur Montrevil." Her majesty said, " that she had the greatest assurance from
" the crown of France, that possibly could be given,
" for his honourable reception, and full liberty to
" continue there, and to depart from thence, at his
" pleasure; and she engaged her own word, that
" whenever his council should find it fit for him
" to go out of France, she would never oppose it;
" and that during his residence in that kingdom,
" all matters of importance which might concern
" himself, or relate to his majesty's affairs, should
" be debated and resolved by himself and the coun-
" cil, in such manner as they ought to have been,
" if he had continued in England, or in Jersey:"
and concluded, " that he should make all possible
" haste to her."

The lords, which arrived with this despatch from her majesty, had no imagination that there would have been any question of his highness's compliance with the queen's command; and therefore, as soon as they had kissed the prince's hand, which was in the afternoon, they desired that the council might presently be called; and when they came together, the lords Jermyn, Digby, and Wentworth, being likewise present, and sitting in the council, they desired the prince, " that his mother's letter
" might be read; and then, since they conceived
" there could be no debate upon his highness's
" yielding obedience to the command of the king

" and queen, that they might only consider of the " day when he might begin his journey, and of " the order he would observe in it." The lords of the council represented to the prince, " that they " were the only persons that were accountable to " the king, and to the kingdom, for any resolution " his highness should take, and for the consequence " thereof; and that the other lords who were pre- " sent had no title to deliver their advice, or to be " present at the debate, they being in no degree " responsible for what his highness should resolve " to do; and therefore desired that the whole " matter might be debated; the state of the king's " present condition understood as far as it might " be; and the reasons considered which made it " counsellable for his highness to repair into France, " and what might be said against it; and the rather, " because it was very notorious that the king had " given no positive direction in the point, but upon " a supposition that the prince could not remain " secure in Jersey; which was likewise the ground " of the queen's last command; and which they " believed had no foundation of reason; and that " his residence there might be very unquestionably " safe." This begot some warmth and contradiction between persons; insomuch as the prince thought it very necessary to suspend the debate till the next day, to the end that by several and private conferences together between the lords who came from Paris, and those who were in Jersey, they might convert, or confirm each other in the same opinions; at least that the next debate might be free from passion and unkindness; and so the council rose, and the several lords betook them-

selves to use the same arguments, or such as they thought more agreeable to the person, as the lord Digby had before done to his friend, and with the same success.

The next day when they were called together, the lord Capel gave an account of all that had passed with the queen from the time that the lord Colepepper and he came thither; and "that the "reasons they had carried from the prince had so "far prevailed with the queen, that her majesty "resolved to take no final resolution till she re- "ceived farther advertisement of the king's plea- "sure; and he did not think that the information "she had received from monsieur Montrevil had "weight enough to produce the quick resolution it "had done: that he thought it still most absolutely "necessary, to receive the king's positive command "before the prince should remove out of his ma- "jesty's own dominions; there being no shadow "of cause to suspect his security there: that he "had then offered to the queen, that he would "himself make a journey to Newcastle to receive "his majesty's commands; and that he now made "the same offer to the prince: and because it did "appear that his majesty was very strictly guarded, "and that persons did not easily find access to "him, and that his own person might be seized "upon in his journey thither, or his stay there, or "his return back, and so his highness might be "disappointed of the information he expected, and "remain still in the same uncertainty as to a reso- "lution, he did propose, and consent to, as his "opinion, that if he did not return again to Jersey "within the space of one month, the prince should

" resolve to remove into France, if in the mean " time such preparatories were made there, as he " thought were necessary, and were yet defective."

He said, " he had been lately at Paris by the " prince's command; and had received many graces " from the queen, who had vouchsafed to impart all " her own reasons for the prince's remove, and the " grounds for the confidence she had of the affec- " tions of France: but, that he did still wonder, if " the court of France had so great a desire, as was " pretended, that the prince of Wales should repair " thither, that in the two months' time his highness " had been in Jersey, they had never sent a gen- " tleman to see him, and to invite him to come " thither; nor had these who came now from the " queen, brought so much as a pass for him to " come into France: that he could not but observe, " that all we had hitherto proposed to ourselves " from France had proved in no degree answerable " to our expectations; as the five thousand foot, " which we had expected in the west before the " prince came from thence; and that we had more " reason to be jealous now than ever, since it had " been by the advice of France, that the king had " now put himself into the hands of the Scots; and " therefore we ought to be the more watchful in " the disposing the person of the prince by their " advice likewise." He concluded, " that he could " not give his advice, or consent, that the prince " should repair into France, till the king's pleasure " might be known, or such other circumstances " might be provided in France, as had been hitherto " neglected."

The lord Digby and the lord Jermyn wondered

very much, " that there should be any doubt of the " affections of France, or that it should be believed " that the queen could be deceived, or not well " enough informed in that particular :" they related many particulars which had passed between the cardinal and them in private conferences, and the great professions of affection he made to the king. They said, " that the ambassador who was now " appointed to go thither was chosen by the queen " herself, and had no other instructions but what " she had given him; and that he was not to stay " there above a month; at the end of which he " was to denounce war against the parliament, if " they did not comply with such propositions as he " made; and so to return; and then, that there " should be an army of thirty thousand men imme- " diately transported into England, with the prince " of Wales in the head of them; that the ambas- " sador was already gone from Paris, but was not to " embark till he should first receive advertisement " that the prince of Wales was landed in France; " for that France had no reason to embark them- " selves so far in the king's quarrel, if the prince " of Wales should refuse to venture his person with " them; or, it may be, engage against them upon " another interest."

They therefore besought the prince, and the lords, " that they would consider well, whether he " would disappoint his father and himself of so " great fruit as they were even ready to gather, " and of which they could not be disappointed but " by unseasonable jealousies of the integrity of " France, and by delaying to give them satisfaction " in the remove of the prince from Jersey."

These arguments, pressed with all the assurance and confidence imaginable, by persons of that near trust and confidence with the king, who were not like to be deceived themselves, nor to have any purpose to deceive the prince, wrought so far with his highness, that he declared himself resolved "to "comply with the commands of the queen, and "forthwith remove into France;" which being resolved, he wished "there might be no more debate "upon that point, but that they would all resolve "to go with him, and that there might be as great "an unity in their counsels, as had hitherto always "been."

This so positive declaration of the prince of his own resolution made all farther arguments against it not only useless but indecent; and therefore they replied not to that point, yet every man of the council, the lord Colepepper only excepted, besought his highness, "that he would give them "his pardon, if they did not farther wait upon "him; for they conceived their commission to be "now at an end; and that they could not assume "any authority by it to themselves, if they waited "upon him into France; nor expect that their "counsels there should be hearkened unto, when "they were now rejected." And so, after some sharp replies between the lords of different judgments, which made the council break up the sooner, they who resolved not to go into France took their leaves of the prince, and kissed his hand; his highness then declaring, "that he would be gone the "next day by five of the clock in the morning," though the cross winds, and want of some provisions which were necessary for the journey, de-

tained him there four or five days longer; during which time, the dissenting lords every day waited upon him, and were received by him very graciously; his highness well knowing and expressing to them a confidence in their affections, and that they would be ready to wait upon him, whenever his occasions should be ready for their service. But between them and the other lords there grew by degrees so great a strangeness, that, the last day, they did not so much as speak to each other; they who came from the queen taking it very ill, that the others had presumed to dissent from what her majesty had so positively commanded. And though they neither loved their persons, nor cared for their company, and without doubt, if they had gone into France, would have made them quickly weary of theirs; yet, in that conjuncture, they believed that the dissent and separation of all those persons who were trusted by the king with the person of the prince, would blast their counsel, and weigh down the single positive determination of the queen herself.

On the other side, the others did not think they were treated in that manner as was due to persons so intrusted; and that in truth many ill consequences would result from that sudden departure of the prince out of the king's dominions, where his residence might have been secure in respect of the affairs of England; where, besides the garrisons of Scilly and Pendennis, (which might always be relieved by sea,) there remained still within his majesty's obedience, Oxford, Worcester, Wallingford, Ludlow, and some other places of less name; which, upon any divisions among themselves, that

were naturally to be expected, might have turned the scale: nor did they know, of what ill consequence it might be to the king, that in such a conjuncture the prince should be removed, when it might appear more counsellable that he should appear in Scotland.

Moreover, Mr. Ashburnham's opinion, which he had delivered to the lord Capel, wrought very much upon them; for that a man so entirely trusted by the king, who had seen him as lately as any body, should bring no directions from his majesty to his son, and that he should believe, that it was fitter for the prince to stay in Jersey than to remove into France, till his majesty's pleasure was better understood, confirmed them in the judgment they had delivered.

But there was another reason that prevailed with those who had been made privy to it, and which, out of duty to the queen, they thought not fit to publish, or insist upon; it was the instructions given to Bellievre, (and which too much manifested the irresolution her majesty had,) not to insist upon what they well knew the king would never depart from; for, though that ambassador was required to do all he could to persuade the presbyterians to join with the king's party, and not to insist upon the destruction of the church; yet if he found that could not be compassed, he was to press, as the advice of the king his master, his majesty to part with the church, and to satisfy the presbyterians in that point, as the advice of the queen his wife, and of his own party; which method was afterwards observed and pursued by Bellievre; which those lords perfectly abhorred; and thought not

fit ever to concur in, or to be privy to those counsels that had begun, and were to carry on that confusion.

Within a day or two after the prince's departure from Jersey, the earl of Berkshire left it likewise, and went for England; the lords Capel, Hopton, and the chancellor of the exchequer, remained together in Jersey to expect the king's pleasure, and to attend a conjuncture to appear again in his majesty's service; of all which they found an opportunity to inform his majesty, who very well interpreted all that they had done according to the sincerity of their hearts; yet did believe, that if they had likewise waited upon the prince into France, they might have been able to have prevented or diverted those violent pressures, which were afterwards made upon him from thence, and gave him more disquiet than he suffered from all the insolence of his enemies.

In a word, if the king's fortune had been farther to be conducted by any fixed rules of policy and discretion, and if the current towards his destruction had not run with such a torrent, as carried down all obstructions of sobriety and wisdom to prevent it, and made the confusion inevitable, it is very probable that this so sudden remove of the prince from Jersey, with all the circumstances thereof, might have been looked upon, and censured with some severity, as an action that swerved from that prudence which by the fundamental rules of policy had been long established; but by the fatal and prodigious successes which followed, all counsels of wise and unwise men proving equally unsuccessful, the memory of what had

passed before grew to be the less thought upon and considered.

Whilst these things were thus transacted in other parts, the king remained yet in the Scottish army; that people behaving themselves in such a manner, that most men believed that they would never have parted with his majesty till a full peace had been made. The parliament made many sharp instances, "that the king might be delivered into "their hands; and that the Scottish army would "return into their own country, having done what "they were sent for, and the war being at an "end." To which the council of Scotland seemed to answer with courage enough, and insisted most on those arguments of the king's legal rights, which had been, in all his majesty's declarations, urged against the parliament's proceedings; and which indeed could never be answered; and as much condemned them, as the parliament.

In the mean time, though the king received all outward respect, he was in truth in the condition of a prisoner; no servant whom he could trust suffered to come to him; and though many persons of quality who had served the king in the war, when they saw the resolute answers made by the Scots, "that they neither would nor could "compel their king to return to the parliament, if "his majesty had no mind to do so," repaired to Newcastle, where his majesty was, yet none of them were suffered to speak to him; nor could he receive from, or send any letter to the queen or prince; and yet the Scots observed all distances, and performed all the ceremonies as could have been expected if they had indeed treated him as

their king; and made as great profession to him of their duty and good purposes, "which [they said] "they would manifest as soon as it should be "seasonable; and then his servants and friends "should repair to him with all liberty, and be well "received:" and as they endeavoured to persuade the king to expect this from them, so they prevailed with many officers of that army, and some of the nobility, to believe that they meant well, but that it was not yet time to discover their intentions.

Thus they prevailed with the king to send his positive orders to the marquis of Mountrose, who had indeed done wonders, to lay down his arms, and to leave the kingdom; till when, they pretended they could not declare for his majesty; and this was done with so much earnestness, and by a particular messenger known and trusted, that the marquis obeyed, and transported himself into France.

Then they employed their Alexander Henderson, and their other clergy, to persuade the king to consent to the extirpation of episcopacy in England, as he had in Scotland; and it was and is still believed, that if his majesty would have been induced to have satisfied them in that particular, they would either have had a party in the parliament at Westminster to have been satisfied therewith, or that they would thereupon have declared for the king, and have presently joined with the loyal party in all places for his majesty's defence. But the king was too conscientious to buy his peace at so profane and sacrilegious a price as was demanded, and he was

so much too hard for Mr. Henderson in the argumentation, (as appears by the papers that passed between them, which were shortly after communicated to the world,) that the old man himself was so far convinced and converted, that he had a very deep sense of the mischief he had himself been the author of, or too much contributed to, and lamented it to his nearest friends and confidents; and died of grief, and heart-broken, within a very short time after he departed from his majesty.

Whilst the king stayed at Newcastle, Bellievre the French ambassador, who was sent from Paris after the prince arrived there, and by whom the cardinal had promised to press the parliament so imperiously, and to denounce a war against them if they refused to yield to what was reasonable towards an agreement with the king, came to his majesty, after he had spent some time at London in all the low application to the parliament that can be imagined, without any mention of the king with any tenderness, as if his interest were at all considered by the king his master, and without any consultation with those of his majesty's party; who were then in London, and would have been very ready to have advised with him. But he chose rather to converse with the principal leaders of the presbyterian party in the parliament, and with the Scottish commissioners; from whose information he took all his measures; and they assured him, "that nothing could be done for the "king, except he would give up the church; that "is, extirpate episcopacy; and grant all the lands "belonging to cathedral churches to such uses as

" the parliament should advise ;" so that, when he came to the king, he pressed him very earnestly to that condescension.

But, besides the matter proposed, in which his majesty was unmoveable, he had no esteem of any thing the ambassador said to him, having too late discovered the little affection the cardinal had for him, and which he had too much relied upon. For, [as hath been already said,] by his advice, and upon his undertaking and assurance that his majesty should be well received in the Scottish army, and that they would be firm to his interest, his majesty had ventured to put himself into their hands; and he was no sooner there, than all they with whom Montrevil had treated, disavowed their undertaking what the king had been informed of; and though the envoy did avow, and justify, what he had informed the king, to the faces of the persons who had given their engagements, the cardinal chose rather to recall and discountenance the minister of that crown, than to enter into any expostulation with the parliament, or the Scots, for the effrontery.

The ambassador, by an express, quickly informed the cardinal that the king was too reserved in giving the parliament satisfaction; and therefore wished, " that somebody might be sent over, who " was like to have so much credit with his majesty " as to persuade him to what was necessary for his " service." Upon which, the queen, who was never advised by those who either understood or valued his true interest, consulted with those about her; and sent sir William Davenant, an honest man, and a witty, but in all respects inferior to

such a trust, with a letter of credit to the king, (who knew the person well enough under another character than was like to give him much credit in the argument in which he was instructed,) although her majesty had likewise enough declared her opinion to his majesty, " that he should part " with the church for his peace and security."

Sir William Davenant had, by the countenance of the French ambassador, easy admission to the king; who heard him patiently all he had to say, and answered him in that manner that made it evident he was not pleased with the advice. When he found his majesty unsatisfied, and that he was not like to consent to what was so earnestly desired by them by whose advice he was sent, who undervalued all those scruples of conscience which his majesty himself was strongly possessed with, he took upon himself the confidence to offer some reasons to the king to induce him to yield to what was proposed; and, among other things, said, " it " was the advice and opinion of all his friends;" his majesty asking, " what friends?" and he answering, " that it was the opinion of the lord " Jermyn," the king said, " that the lord Jermyn " did not understand any thing of the church." The other said, " the lord Colepepper was of the " same mind." The king said, " Colepepper had " no religion:" and asked, " whether the chancel- " lor of the exchequer was of that mind?" to which he answered, " he did not know; for that " he was not there, and had deserted the prince:" and thereupon said somewhat from the queen of the displeasure she had conceived against the chancellor: to which the king said, " the chancellor

" was an honest man, and would never desert him, " nor the prince, nor the church; and that he was " sorry he was not with his son; but that his wife " was mistaken." Davenant then offering some reasons of his own, in which he mentioned the church slightingly, as if it were not of importance enough to weigh down the benefit that would attend the concession, his majesty was transported with so much passion and indignation, that he gave him more reproachful terms, and a sharper reprehension, than he ever did towards any other man; and forbid him to presume to come again into his presence. Whereupon the poor man, who had in truth very good affections, was exceedingly dejected and afflicted; and returned into France, to give an account of his ill success to those who sent him.

As all men's expectations from the courage and activity of the French ambassador in England were thus disappointed and frustrated, by his mean and low carriage both towards the parliament and at Newcastle, so all the professions which had been made of respect and tenderness towards the prince of Wales, when his person should once appear in France, were as unworthily [disappointed]. The prince had been above two months with the queen his mother, before any notice was taken of his being in France, by the least message sent from the court to congratulate his arrival there; but that time was spent in debating the formalities of his reception; how the king should treat him? and how he should behave himself towards the king? whether he should take place of monsieur the king's brother? and what kind of ceremonies

should be observed between the prince of Wales and his uncle the duke of Orleans? and many such other particulars; in all which they were resolved to give the law themselves; and which had been fitter to have been adjusted in Jersey, before he put himself into their power, than disputed afterwards in the court of France; from which there could be then no appeal.

There can be no doubt but that the cardinal, who was the sole minister of state, and directed all that was to be done, and dictated all that was to be said, did think the presence of the prince there of the highest importance to their affairs, and did all that was in his power, to persuade the queen that it was as necessary for the affairs of the king her husband, and of her majesty: but now that work was over, and the person of the prince brought into their power, without the least public act or ceremony to invite him thither, it was no less his care to have the parliament in England, and the officers of the army, whom he feared more than the parliament, should believe that the prince came thither without their wish, and in truth against their will; that the crown of France could not refuse to interpose, and mediate, to compose the difference between the parliament and the Scottish nation, and that the kingdoms might be restored to peace; but that when they had performed that office of mediation, they had performed their function; and that they would no more presume to take upon them to judge between the parliament and the Scots, than they had done between the king and the parliament; and that since the prince had come to the queen his mother, from which

they could not reasonably restrain him, it should not be attended with any prejudice to the peace of England; nor should he there find any means or assistance to disturb it. And it was believed by those who stood at no great distance from affairs, that the cardinal then laid the foundation for that friendship which was shortly after built up between him and Cromwell, by promising, "that they "should receive less inconvenience by the prince's "remaining in France, than if he were in any "other part of Europe." And it can hardly be believed, with how little respect they treated him during the whole time of his stay there. They were very careful that he might not be looked upon as supported by them either according to his dignity, or for the maintenance of his family; but a mean addition to the pension which the queen received, was made to her majesty, without any mention of the prince her son; who was wholly to depend upon her bounty, without power to gratify and oblige any of his own servants; that they likewise might depend only upon the queen's goodness and favour, and so behave themselves accordingly.

When the Scots had secured the peace and quiet of their own country, by disbanding the forces under the marquis of Mountrose, and by his transporting himself beyond the seas, and by putting to death several persons of name who had followed the marquis, and had been taken prisoners, among whom sir Robert Spotswood was one, a worthy, honest, loyal gentleman, and as wise a man as that nation had at that time, (whom the king had made secretary of state of that kingdom, in the place of

the earl of Lanrick, who was then in arms against him; which, it may be, was a principal cause that the other was put to death:) and when they had with such solemnity and courage made it plain and evident, that they could not, without the most barefaced violation of their faith and allegiance, and of the fundamental principles of Christian religion, ever deliver up their native king, who had put himself into their hands, into the hands of the parliament, against his own will and consent: and when the earl of Lowden had publicly declared to the two houses of parliament in a conference, "that an eternal infamy would lie upon them, and "the whole nation, if they should deliver the "person of the king; the securing of which was "equally their duty, as it was the parliament's, and "the disposal of his person in order to that secu-"rity did equally belong to them as to the parlia-"ment;" however, they said, "they would use "all the persuasion, and all the importunity they "could with the king that his majesty might yield, "and consent to the propositions the parliament "had sent to him."

The parliament had, upon the first notice of the king's being arrived in the Scottish army, sent a positive command to the committee of both kingdoms residing in the Scottish army, that the person of the king should be forthwith sent to Warwick-castle; but the Scots, who apprehended they could not be long without such an order, had, within two days after his majesty's coming to them, and after he had caused Newark to be delivered up, with wonderful expedition marched towards Newcastle; and were arrived there before they received

that order for sending his majesty to Warwick; which proceeding of theirs pleased his majesty very well, among many other things which displeased him; and persuaded him, that though they would observe their own method, they would, in the end, do somewhat for his service.

Upon the receiving that order, they renewed their professions to the parliament of observing punctually all that had been agreed between them; and besought them, "that since they had pro-
"mised the king, before he left Oxford, to send
"propositions to him, they would now do it; and
"said, that if he refused to comply with them, to
"which they should persuade him, they knew
"what they were to do." Then they advised the king, and prevailed with him, to send orders to the governor of Oxford to make conditions, and to surrender that place (where his son the duke of York was, and all the council) into the hands of Fairfax, who with his army then besieged them; and likewise to publish a general order, (which they caused to be printed,) "that all governors of
"any garrisons for his majesty should immediately
"deliver them up to the parliament upon fair and
"honourable conditions, since his majesty resolved
"in all things to be advised by his parliament;
"and till this was done, they said, they could not
"declare themselves in that manner for his ma-
"jesty's service and interest, as they resolved to
"do; for that they were, by their treaty and con-
"federacy, to serve the parliament in such manner
"as it should direct, until the war should be
"ended; but, that done, they had no more obliga-
"tions to the parliament; and that, when his

" majesty had no more forces on foot, nor gar-
" risons which held out for him, it could not be
" denied but that the war was at an end; and
" then they could speak and expostulate with
" freedom." By which arts, they prevailed with the king to send, and publish such orders as aforesaid; and which indeed, as the case then stood, he could have received no benefit by not publishing.

The parliament was contented, as the more expedite way, (though they were much offended at the presumption of the Scots in neglecting to send the king to Warwick,) to send their propositions to the king (which they knew his majesty would never grant) by commissioners of both houses, who had no other authority or power, than " to demand
" a positive answer from the king in ten days, and
" then to return." These propositions were delivered about the end of July; and contained such an eradication of the government of the church and state, that the king told them, " he knew not
" what answer to make to them, till he should be
" informed what power or authority they had left
" to him and his heirs, when he had given all that
" to them which they desired." He desired,
" that he might be removed to some of his own
" houses, and that he might reside there till, upon
" a personal treaty with his parliament, such an
" agreement might be established as the kingdom
" might enjoy peace and happiness under it; which,
" he was sure, it could never do by the concessions
" they proposed."

The Scots, who were enough convinced that his majesty could never be wrought upon to sacrifice

the church to their wild lusts and impiety, were as good as their words to the parliament, and used all the rude importunity and threats to his majesty, to persuade him freely to consent to all: though they confessed "that the propositions were higher "in many things than they approved of, yet they "saw no other means for him to close with his "parliament, than by granting what they re-"quired."

The chancellor of Scotland told him, "that the "consequence of his answer to the propositions "was as great, as the ruin or preservation of his "crown or kingdoms: that the parliament, after "many bloody battles, had got the strong holds "and forts of the kingdom into their hands: that "they had his revenue, excise, assessments, seques-"trations, and power to raise all the men and "money of the kingdom: that they had gained "victory over all, and that they had a strong "army to maintain it; so that they might do what "they would with church or state: that they "desired neither him, nor any of his race, longer "to reign over them; and had sent these propo-"sitions to his majesty, without the granting "whereof, the kingdom and his people could not "be in safety: that if he refused to assent, he "would lose all his friends in parliament, lose the "city, and lose the country; and that all England "would join against him as one man to process "and depose him, and to set up another govern-"ment; and so, that both kingdoms, for either's "safety, would agree to settle religion and peace "without him, to the ruin of his majesty and his "posterity:" and concluded, "that if he left

" England, he would not be admitted to come and " reign in Scotland."

And it is very true that the general assembly of the kirk, which was then sitting in Scotland, had petitioned the conservators of the peace of the kingdom, " that if the king should refuse to give " satisfaction to his parliament, he might not be " permitted to come into Scotland." This kind of argumentation did more provoke than persuade the king; he told them, with great resolution and magnanimity, " that no condition they could reduce " him to, could be half so miserable and grievous " to him, as that which they would persuade him " to reduce himself to; and therefore bid them " proceed their own way; and that though they " had all forsaken him, God had not."

The parliament had now received the answer they expected; and, forthwith, required " the Scots " to quit the kingdom, and to deliver the person of " the king to such persons as they should appoint " to receive him;" who should attend upon his majesty from Newcastle to Holmby, a house of his majesty's at a small distance from Northampton, a town and country of very eminent disaffection to the king throughout the war; and declared, " that " his majesty should be treated, with respect to the " safety and preservation of his person, according " to the covenant: and that, after his coming to " Holmby, he should be attended by such as they " should appoint; and that when the Scots were " removed out of England, the parliament would " join with their brethren of Scotland again to per- " suade the king to pass the propositions; which if " he refused to do, the house would do nothing

" that might break the union of the two kingdoms, " but would endeavour to preserve the same."

The Scots now begun again to talk sturdily, and denied " that the parliament of England had power " absolutely to dispose of the person of the king " without their approbation;" and the parliament as loudly replied, " that they had nothing to do in " England, but to observe their orders;" and added such threats to their reasons, as might let them see they had a great contempt of their power, and would exact obedience from them, if they refused to yield it. But these discourses were only kept up till they could adjust all accounts between them, and agree what price they should pay for the delivery of his person, whom one side was resolved to have, and the other as resolved not to keep; and so they quickly agreed, that, upon the payment of two hundred thousand pounds in hand, and security for as much more upon days agreed upon, they would deliver the king up into such hands as the parliament should appoint to receive him.

And upon this infamous contract that excellent prince was, in the end of January, wickedly given up, by his Scottish subjects, to those of his English who were intrusted by the parliament to receive him; which had appointed a committee of lords and commons, to go to the place agreed upon with a party of horse and foot of the army, which were subject to the orders of that committee, and the committee itself to go to Newcastle to receive that town as well as the king; where, and to whom, his majesty was delivered.

They received him with the same formality of respect as he had been treated with by the Scots,

and with the same strictness restrained all resort of those to his majesty, who were of doubtful affections to them and their cause. Servants were particularly appointed, and named by the parliament, to attend upon his person and service, in all relations; amongst which, in the first place, they preferred those who had faithfully adhered to them against their master; and, where such were wanting, they found others who had manifested their affection to them. And, in this distribution, the presbyterian party in the houses did what they pleased, and were thought to govern all. The independents craftily letting them enjoy that confidence of their power and interest, till they had dismissed their friends, the Scots, out of the kingdom; and permitting them to put their friends about the person of the king, and to choose such a guard as they could confide in, to attend his majesty.

Of the committee employed to govern and direct all, major general Brown was one, who had a great name and interest in the city, and with all the presbyterian party, and had done great service to the parliament in the war under the earl of Essex, and was a diligent and stout commander. In this manner, and with this attendance, his majesty was brought to his own house at Holmby in Northamptonshire; a place he had taken much delight in: and there he was to stay till the parliament and the army (for the army now took upon them to have a share, and to give their opinion in the settlement that should be made) should determine what should be farther done.

In the mean time, the committee paid all respects to his majesty; and he enjoyed those exercises he

most delighted in; and seemed to have all liberty, but to confer with persons he most desired, and to have such servants about him as he could trust. That which most displeased him, was, that they would not permit him to have his own chaplains; but ordered presbyterian ministers to attend for divine service; and his majesty, utterly refusing to be present at their devotions, was compelled at those hours to be his own chaplain in his bedchamber; where he constantly used the Common Prayer by himself. Yet his majesty bore this constraint so heavily, that he writ a letter to the house of peers, in which he enclosed a list of the names of thirteen of his chaplains; any two of which he desired might have liberty to attend him for his devotion. To which, after many days' consideration, they returned this answer; "that all those "chaplains were disaffected to the established go- "vernment of the church, and had not taken the "covenant; but that there were others who had, "who, if his majesty pleased, should be sent to "him." After this answer, his majesty thought it to no purpose to importune them farther in that particular; but, next to the having his own chaplains, he would have been best pleased to have been without any; they who were sent by them being men of mean parts, and of most impertinent and troublesome confidence and importunity.

Whilst those disputes continued between the parliament and the Scots concerning the king's person, the army proceeded with great success in reducing those garrisons which still continued in his majesty's obedience; whereof though some surrendered more easily, and with less resistance than

they might have made, satisfying themselves with the king's general order, and that there was no reasonable expectation of relief, and therefore that it would not be amiss, by an early submission, to obtain better conditions for themselves; yet others defended themselves with notable obstinacy to the last, to the great damage of the enemy, and to the detaining the army from uniting together; without which they could not pursue the great designs they had. And this was one of the reasons that made the treaty with the Scots depend so long, and that the presbyterians continued their authority and credit so long; and it was observed, that those garrisons which were maintained and defended with the greatest courage and virtue, in the end, obtained as good and as honourable conditions, as any of those who surrendered upon the first summons.

Which was the case of Pendennis-castle; which endured the longest siege, and held out the last of any fort or castle in England; and refused all summons; nor admitted any treaty, till all their provisions were so far consumed, that they had not victual left for four and twenty hours; and then they treated, and carried themselves in the treaty with such resolution and unconcernedness, that the enemy concluded they were in no straits; and so gave them the conditions they proposed; which were as good as any garrison in England had accepted. This castle was defended by the governor thereof, John Arundel of Trerice in Cornwall, an old gentleman of near fourscore years of age, and of one of the best estates and interest in that county; who, with the assistance of his son Richard

Arundel, (who was then a colonel in the army; a stout and diligent officer; and was by the king after his return made a baron, lord Arundel of Trerice, in memory of his father's service, and his own eminent behaviour throughout the war,) maintained and defended the same to the last extremity.

There remained with him in that service many gentlemen of the country of great loyalty, amongst whom sir Harry Killigrew was one; who, being an intimate friend of the chancellor of the exchequer, resolved to go to Jersey; and, as soon as the castle was surrendered, took the first opportunity of a vessel then in the harbour of Falmouth, to transport himself with some officers and soldiers to St. Maloes in Brittany; from whence he writ to the chancellor in Jersey, that he would procure a bark of that island to go to St. Maloes to fetch him thither; which, by the kindness of sir George Carteret, was presently sent, with a longing desire to receive him into that island; the two lords, Capel and Hopton, and the governor, having an extraordinary affection for him, as well as the chancellor. Within two days after, upon view of the vessel at sea, (which they well knew,) they all made haste to the harbour to receive their friend; but, when they came thither, to their infinite regret, they found his body there in a coffin, he having died at St. Maloes within a day after he had written his letter.

After the treaty was signed for delivering the castle, he had walked out to discharge some arms which were in his chamber; among which, a carabine that had been long charged, in the shooting

off, broke; and a splinter of it struck him in the forehead; which, though it drew much blood, was not apprehended by him to be of any danger; so that his friends could not persuade him to stay there till the wound was cured; but, the blood being stopped, and the chirurgeon having bound it up, he prosecuted his intended voyage; and at his landing at St. Maloes, he writ that letter; believing his wound would give him little trouble. But his letter was no sooner gone than he sent for a chirurgeon; who, opening the wound, found it was very deep and dangerous; and the next day he died, having desired that his dead body might be sent to Jersey; where he was decently buried. He was a very gallant gentleman, of a noble extraction, and a fair revenue in land; of excellent parts and great courage: he had one only son, who was killed before him in a party that fell upon the enemy's quarters near Bridgewater; where he behaved himself with remarkable courage, and was generally lamented.

Sir Harry was of the house of commons; and though he had no other relation to the court than the having many friends there, as wherever he was known he was exceedingly beloved, he was most zealous and passionate in opposing all the extravagant proceedings of the parliament. And when the earl of Essex was chosen general, and the several members of the house stood up, and declared, what horse they would raise and maintain, and that they would live and die with the earl their general, one saying he would raise ten horses, and another twenty, he stood up, and said, "He would provide "a good horse, and a good buff coat, and a good

"pair of pistols, and then he doubted not but he "should find a good cause;" and so went out of the house, and rode post into Cornwall, where his estate and interest lay; and there joined with those gallant gentlemen his friends, who first received the lord Hopton, and raised those forces which did so many famous actions in the west.

He would never take any command in the army; but they who had, consulted with no man more. He was in all actions, and in those places where was most danger, having great courage and a pleasantness of humour in danger that was very exemplary; and they who did not do their duty, took care not to be within his view; for he was a very sharp speaker, and cared not for angering those who deserved to be reprehended. The Arundels, Slannings, Trevanions, and all the signal men of that county, infinitely loved his spirit and sincerity; and his credit and interest had a great influence upon all but those who did not love the king; and towards those he was very terrible; and exceedingly hated by them; and not loved by men of moderate tempers; for he thought all such prepared to rebel, when a little success should encourage them; and was many times too much offended with men who wished well, and whose constitutions and complexions would not permit them to express the same frankness, which his nature and keenness of spirit could not suppress. His loss was much lamented by all good men.

From the time that the king was brought to Holmby, and whilst he stayed there, he was afflicted with the same pressures concerning the church, which had disquieted him at Newcastle;

the parliament not remitting any of their insolencies in their demands: all which was imputed to the presbyterians, who were thought to exercise the whole power, and begun to give orders for the lessening their great charge by disbanding some troops of their army, and sending others for Ireland; which they made no doubt speedily to reduce; and declared, "that they would then disband "all armies, that the kingdom might be governed "by the known laws."

This temper in the houses raised another spirit in the army; which did neither like the presbyterian government that they saw ready to be settled in the church, nor that the parliament should so absolutely dispose of them, by whom they had gotten power to do all they had done; and Cromwell, who had the sole influence upon the army, underhand, made them petition the houses against any thing that was done contrary to his opinion. He himself, and his officers, took upon them to preach and pray publicly to their troops, and admitted no chaplains in the army, but such as bitterly inveighed against the presbyterian government, as more tyrannical than episcopacy; and the common soldiers, as well as the officers, did not only pray and preach among themselves, but went up into the pulpits in all churches, and preached to the people; who quickly became inspired with the same spirit; women as well as men taking upon them to pray and preach; which made as great a noise and confusion in all opinions concerning religion, as there was in the civil government of the state; no man being suffered to be called in question for delivering any opinion in

religion, by speaking or writing, how profane, heretical, or blasphemous soever it was; "which," they said, "was to restrain the Spirit."

Liberty of conscience was now the common argument and quarrel, whilst the presbyterian party proceeded with equal bitterness against the several sects as enemies to all godliness, as they had done, and still continued to do, against the prelatical party; and finding themselves superior in the two houses, little doubted, by their authority and power there, to be able to reform the army, and to new model it again; which they would, no doubt, have attempted, if it had not pleased God at that time to have taken away the earl of Essex some months before this; who died without being sensible of sickness, in a time when he might have been able to have undone much of the mischief he had formerly wrought; to which he had great inclinations; and had indignation enough for the indignities himself had received from the ungrateful parliament, and wonderful apprehension and detestation of the ruin he saw like to befall the king and the kingdom. And it is very probable, considering the present temper of the city at that time, and of the two houses, he might, if he had lived, have given some check to the rage and fury that then prevailed. But God would not suffer a man, who, out of the pride and vanity of his nature, rather than the wickedness of his heart, had been made an instrument of so much mischief, to have any share in so glorious a work: though his constitution and temper might very well entitle him to the lethargic indisposition of which he died, yet it

was loudly said by many of his friends, " that he " was poisoned."

Sure it is that Cromwell and his party (for he was now declared head of the army, though Fairfax continued general in name) were wonderfully exalted with his death; he being the only person whose credit and interest they feared, without any esteem of his person.

And now, that they might more substantially enter into dispute and competition with the parliament, and go a share with them in settling the kingdom, (as they called it,) the army erected a kind of parliament among themselves. They had, from the time of the defeat of the king's army, and when they had no more enemy to contend with in the field, and after they had purged their army of all those inconvenient officers, of whose entire submission, and obedience to all their dictates, they had not confidence, set aside their self-denying ordinance, and got their principal officers of the army, and others of their friends, whose principles they well knew, to be elected members of the house of commons into their places who were dead, or who had been expelled by them for adhering to the king. By this means, Fairfax himself, Ireton, Harrison, and many other of the independents, officers and gentlemen, of the several counties, who were transported with new fancies in religion, and were called by a new name *fanatics*, sat in the house of commons; notwithstanding all which, the presbyterians still carried it.

So that about this time, that they might be upon a nearer level with the parliament, the army made

choice of a number of such officers as they liked; which they called the general's council of officers; who were to resemble the house of peers; and the common soldiers made choice of three or four of each regiment, most corporals or sergeants, and none above the degree of an ensign, who were called agitators, and were to be as a house of commons to the council of officers. These two representatives met severally, and considered of all the acts and orders made by the parliament towards settling the kingdom, and towards reforming, dividing, or disbanding of the army: and, upon mutual messages and conferences between each other, they resolved in the first place, and declared, "that they would not be divided or disbanded, "before their full arrears were paid, and before "full provision was made for liberty of conscience; "which, they said, was the ground of the quarrel, "and for which so many of their friends' lives had "been lost, and so much of their own blood had "been spilt; and that hitherto there was so little "security provided in that point, that there was "a greater persecution now against religious and "godly men, than ever had been in the king's "government, when the bishops were their "judges."

They said, "they did not look upon themselves "as a band of janizaries, hired and entertained "only to fight their battles; but that they had "voluntarily taken up arms for the liberty and "defence of the nation of which they were a part; "and before they laid down those arms, they "would see all those ends well provided for, that "the people might not hereafter undergo those

" grievances which they had formerly suffered. " They complained that some members of the " army had been sent for by the parliament, and " committed to prison, which was against their " privilege; since all soldiers ought to be tried by " a council of war, and not by any other judicatory; " and therefore they desired redress in these, and " many other particulars of as ingrateful a nature; " and that such as were imprisoned and in custody, " might be forthwith set at liberty; without which " they could not think themselves justly dealt with." And with this declaration and address, they sent three or four of their own members to the house of commons; who delivered it at the bar with wonderful confidence.

The soldiers published a vindication, as they called it, of their proceedings and resolutions, and directed it to their general; in which they complained of a design to disband and new model the army; " which, they said, was a plot contrived by " some men who had lately tasted of sovereignty; " and, being lifted up above the ordinary sphere of " servants, endeavoured to become masters, and " were degenerated into tyrants." They therefore declared, " that they would neither be employed " for the service of Ireland, nor suffer themselves " to be disbanded, till their desires were granted, " and the rights and liberties of the subjects should " be vindicated and maintained." This apology, or vindication, being signed by many inferior officers, the parliament declared them to be enemies to the state: and caused some of them, who talked loudest, to be imprisoned. Upon which a new address was made to their general; wherein they

complained " how disdainfully they were used by " the parliament, for whom they had ventured " their lives, and lost their blood: that the privi- " leges, which were due to them as soldiers and as " subjects, were taken from them; and when they " complained of the injuries they received, they " were abused, beaten, and dragged into gaols."

Hereupon, the general was prevailed with to write a letter to a member of parliament, who shewed it to the house; in which he took notice of several petitions, which were prepared in the city of London, and some other counties of the kingdom, against the army; and " that it was looked " upon as very strange, that the officers of the " army might not be permitted to petition, when " so many petitions were received against them; " and that he much doubted that the army might " draw to a rendezvous, and think of some other " way for their own vindication."

This manner of proceeding by the soldiers, but especially the general seeming to be of their mind, troubled the parliament; yet they resolved not to suffer their counsels to be censured, or their actions controlled, by those who were retained by them, and who lived upon their pay. And therefore, after many high expressions against the presumption of several officers and soldiers, they declared, " that whosoever should refuse, being commanded, " to engage himself in the service of Ireland, " should be disbanded." The army was resolved not to be subdued in their first so declared resolution, and fell into a direct and high mutiny, and called for the arrears of pay due to them; which they knew where and how to levy for themselves;

nor could they be in any degree appeased, till the declaration that the parliament had made against them was rased out of the journal book of both houses, and a month's pay sent to them; nor were they satisfied with all this, but talked very loud, "that they knew how to make themselves as con-"siderable as the parliament, and where to have "their services better valued and rewarded;" which so frighted those at Westminster, that they appointed a committee of lords and commons, whereof some were very acceptable to the army, to go to them, and to treat with a committee chosen of the officers of the army, upon the best expedients that might be applied to the composing these distempers. Now the army thought itself upon a level with the parliament, when they had a committee of the one authorized to treat with a committee of the other; which likewise raised the spirits of Fairfax, who had never thought of opposing or disobeying the parliament; and disposed him to more concurrence with the impetuous humour of the army, when he saw it was so much complied with and submitted to by all men.

Cromwell, hitherto, carried himself with that rare dissimulation, (in which sure he was a very great master,) that he seemed exceedingly incensed against this insolence of the soldiers; was still in the house of commons when any such addresses were made; and inveighed bitterly against the presumption, and had been the cause of the commitment, of some of the officers. He proposed, "that the general might be sent down to the "army; who," he said, "would conjure down this "mutinous spirit quickly;" and he was so easily

believed, that he himself was sent once or twice to compose the army; where after he had stayed two or three days, he would again return to the house, and complain heavily "of the great license that "was got into the army; that, for his own part, "by the artifice of his enemies, and of those who "desired that the nation should be again imbrued "in blood, he was rendered so odious unto them, "that they had a purpose to kill him, if, upon "some discovery made to him, he had not escaped "out of their hands." And in these, and the like discourses, when he spake of the nation's being to be involved in new troubles, he would weep bitterly, and appear the most afflicted man in the world with the sense of the calamities which were like to ensue. But, as many of the wiser sort had long discovered his wicked intentions, so his hypocrisy could not longer be concealed. The most active officers and agitators were known to be his own creatures, and such who neither did, nor would do, any thing but by his direction. So that it was resolved by the principal persons of the house of commons, that when he came the next day into the house, which he seldom omitted to do, they would send him to the Tower; presuming, that if they had once severed his person from the army, they should easily reduce it to its former temper and obedience. For they had not the least jealousy of the general Fairfax, whom they knew to be a perfect presbyterian in his judgment; and that Cromwell had the ascendant over him purely by his dissimulation, and pretence of conscience and sincerity. There is no doubt Fairfax did not then, nor long after, believe, that the other had those

wicked designs in his heart against the king, or the least imagination of disobeying the parliament.

This purpose of seizing upon the person of Cromwell could not be carried so secretly, but that he had notice of it; and the very next morning after he had so much lamented his desperate misfortune in having lost all reputation, and credit, and authority in the army, and that his life would be in danger if he were with it, when the house expected every minute his presence, they were informed that he was met out of the town by break of day, with one servant only, on the way to the army; where he had appointed a rendezvous of some regiments of the horse, and from whence he writ a letter to the house of commons, "that having the night before received a letter from some "officers of his own regiment, that the jealousy "the troops had conceived of him, and of his want "of kindness towards them, was much abated, so "that they believed, if he would be quickly present with them, they would all in a short time by "his advice be reclaimed, upon this he had made "all the haste he could; and did find that the "soldiers had been abused by misinformation; and "that he hoped to discover the fountain from "whence it sprung; and in the mean time desired "that the general, and the other officers in the "house, and such as remained about the town, "might be presently sent to their quarters; and "that he believed it would be very necessary in "order to the suppression of the late distempers, "and for the prevention of the like for the time to "come, that there might be a general rendezvous

" of the army; of which the general would best " consider, when he came down; which he wished " might be hastened." It was now to no purpose to discover what they had formerly intended, or that they had any jealousy of a person who was out of their reach; and so they expected a better conjuncture; and in few days after, the general and the other officers left the town, and went to their quarters.

The same morning that Cromwell left London, cornet Joyce, who was one of the agitators in the army, a tailor, a fellow who had two or three years before served in a very inferior employment in Mr. Hollis's house, came with a squadron of fifty horse to Holmby, where the king was, about the break of day; and, without any interruption by the guard of horse or foot which waited there, came with two or three more, and knocked at the king's chamber door, and said " he must presently speak with the " king." His majesty, surprised with the manner of it, rose out of his bed; and, half dressed, caused the door to be opened, which he knew otherwise would be quickly broken open; they who waited in the chamber being persons of whom he had little knowledge, and less confidence. As soon as the door was opened, Joyce, and two or three more, came into the chamber, with their hats off, and pistols in their hands. Joyce told the king, " that he must go with him." His majesty asked, " whither?" he answered, " to the army." The king asked him, " where the army was?" he said, " they would carry him to the place where it " was." His majesty asked, " by what authority " they came?" Joyce answered, " by this;" and

shewed him his pistol; and desired his majesty, "that he would cause himself to be dressed, because "it was necessary they should make haste." None of the other soldiers spoke a word; and Joyce, saving the bluntness and positiveness of the few words he spoke, behaved himself not rudely. The king said, "he could not stir before he spoke with "the committee to whom he had been delivered, "and who were trusted by the parliament;" and so appointed one of those who waited upon him, to call them. The committee had been as much surprised with the noise as the king had been, and quickly came to his chamber, and asked Joyce, "whether he had any orders from the parliament?" he said, *No*. "From the general?" *No*. "What "authority he came by?" to which he made no other answer, than he had made to the king, and held up his pistol. They said, "they would write "to the parliament to know their pleasure;" Joyce said, "they might do so, but the king must pre-"sently go with him." Colonel Brown had sent for some of the troops who were appointed for the king's guard, but they came not; he spoke then with the officer who commanded those who were at that time upon the guard, and found that they would make no resistance: so that after the king had made all the delays he conveniently could, without giving them cause to believe that he was resolved not to have gone, which had been to no purpose, and after he had broken his fast, he went into his coach, attended by the few servants who were put about him, and went whither cornet Joyce would conduct him; there being no part of the army known to be within twenty miles of Holmby

at that time; and that which administered most cause of apprehension, was, that those officers who were of the guard, declared, "that the squadron "which was commanded by Joyce consisted not of "soldiers of any one regiment, but were men of "several troops, and several regiments, drawn "together under him, who was not the proper "officer;" so that the king did in truth believe, that their purpose was to carry him to some place where they might more conveniently murder him. The committee quickly gave notice to the parliament of what had passed, with all the circumstances; and it was received with all imaginable consternation; nor could any body imagine what the purpose and resolution was.

Nor were they at the more ease, or in any degree pleased with the account they received from the general himself; who by his letter informed them, "that the soldiers at Holmby had brought "the king from thence; and that his majesty lay "the next night at colonel Montague's house, and "would be the next day at Newmarket: that the "ground thereof was from some apprehension of "some strength gathered to force the king from "thence; whereupon he had sent colonel Whaley's "regiment to meet the king." He protested, "that his remove was without his consent, or of "the officers about him, or of the body of the "army, and without their desire or privity: that "he would take care for the security of his majesty's "person from danger;" and assured the parliament, "that the whole army endeavoured peace, "and were far from opposing presbytery, or affecting independency, or from any purpose to main-

" tain a licentious freedom in religion, or the in-
" terest of any particular party, but were resolved
" to leave the absolute determination of all to the
" parliament."

It was upon the third of June that the king was taken from Holmby by cornet Joyce, [well nigh] a full year after he had delivered himself to the Scots at Newark; in all which time, the army had been at leisure to contrive all ways to free itself from the servitude of the parliament, whilst the presbyterians believed, that, in spite of a few factious independent officers, it was entirely at their devotion, and could never prove disobedient to their commands; and those few wise men, who discerned the foul designs of those officers, and by what degrees they stole the hearts and affections of the soldiers, had not credit enough to be believed by their own party. The joint confidence of the unanimous affection of the city of London to all their purposes, made them despise all opposition; but now, when they saw the king taken out of their hands in this manner, and with these circumstances, they found all their measures broke by which they had formed all their counsels. And as this letter from the general administered too much cause of jealousy of what was to succeed, so a positive information about the same time by many officers, confirmed by a letter which the lord mayor of London had received, that the whole army was upon its march, and would be in London the next day by noon, so distracted them, that they appeared besides themselves: however, they voted,
" that the houses should sit all the next day, being
" Sunday; and that Mr. Marshall should be there

" to pray for them: that the committee of safety " should sit up all that night to consider what was " to be done: that the lines of communication " should be strongly guarded, and all the trained " bands of London should be drawn together upon " pain of death." All shops were shut up, and such a general confusion over all the town, and in the faces of all men, as if the army had already entered the town. The parliament writ a letter to the general, desiring him, " that no part of the " army might come within five and twenty miles " of London; and that the king's person might be " delivered to the former commissioners, who had " attended upon his majesty at Holmby; and that " colonel Rossiter, and his regiment, might be ap- " pointed for the guard of his person." The general returned for answer, " that the army was come " to St. Alban's before the desire of the parliament " came to his hands; but that, in obedience to " their commands, he would advance no farther; " and desired that a month's pay might presently " be sent for the army." In which they deferred not to gratify them; though as to the redelivery of the king to the former commissioners, no other answer was returned, than " that they might rest " assured, that all care should be taken for his " majesty's security."

From that time both Cromwell and Ireton appeared in the council of officers, which they had never before done; and their expostulations with the parliament begun to be more brisk and contumacious than they had been. The king found himself at Newmarket attended by greater troops and superior officers; so that he was presently freed

from any subjection to Mr. Joyce; which was no small satisfaction to him; and they who were about him appeared men of better breeding than the former, and paid his majesty all the respect imaginable, and seemed to desire to please him in all things. All restraint was taken off from persons resorting to him, and he saw every day the faces of many who were grateful to him; and he no sooner desired that some of his chaplains might have leave to attend upon him for his devotion, but it was yielded to, and they who were named by him (who were Dr. Sheldon, Dr. Morley, Dr. Sanderson, and Dr. Hammond) were presently sent, and gave their attendance, and performed their function at the ordinary hours, in their accustomed formalities; all persons, who had a mind to it, being suffered to be present, to his majesty's infinite satisfaction; who begun to believe that the army was not so much his enemy as it was reported to be; and though Fairfax, nor Cromwell, had not yet waited upon him, the army had sent an address to him full of protestation of duty, and besought him "that he would be content, for some time, "to reside among them, until the affairs of the "kingdom were put into such a posture as he "might find all things to his own content and "security; which they infinitely desired to see as "soon as might be; and to that purpose made "daily instances to the parliament." In the mean time his majesty sat still, or removed to such places as were most convenient for the march of the army; being in all places as well provided for and accommodated, as he had used to be in any progress; the best gentlemen of the several counties through

which he passed, daily resorted to him, without distinction; he was attended by some of his old trusty servants in the places nearest his person; and that which gave him most encouragement to believe that they meant well, was, that in the army's address to the parliament, they desired "that care "might be taken for settling the king's rights, "according to the several professions they had "made in their declarations; and that the royal "party might be treated with more candour and "less rigour;" and many good officers who had served his majesty faithfully, were civilly received by the officers of the army, and lived quietly in their quarters; which they could not do any where else; which raised a great reputation to the army, throughout the kingdom, and as much reproach upon the parliament.

The parliament at this time had recovered its spirits, when they saw the army did not march towards them, and not only remained at St. Alban's, but was drawn back to a farther distance; which persuaded them, that their general was displeased with the former advance: and so they proceeded with all passion and vigour against those principal officers, who, they knew, contrived all these proceedings. They published declarations to the kingdom, "that they desired to bring the king "in honour to his parliament; which was their "business from the beginning, and that he was "detained prisoner against his will in the army; "and that they had great reason to apprehend the "safety of his person." The army, on the other hand, declared "that his majesty was neither pri-"soner, nor detained against his will; and appealed

" to his majesty himself, and to all his friends, who " had liberty to repair to him, whether he had not " more liberty, and was not treated with more " respect, since he came into the army than he had " been at Holmby, or during the time he remained " in those places, and with that retinue that the " parliament had appointed?" The city seemed very unanimously devoted to the parliament, and incensed against the army; and seemed resolute, not only with their trained bands and auxiliary regiments to assist and defend the parliament, but appointed some of the old officers who had served under the earl of Essex, and had been disbanded under the new model, as Waller, Massey, and others, to list new forces; towards which there was not like to be want of men out of their old forces, and such of the king's as would be glad of the employment. There was nothing they did really fear so much, as that the army would make a firm conjunction with the king, and unite with his party, of which there was so much show; and many unskilful men, who wished it, bragged too much; and therefore the parliament sent a committee to his majesty, with an address of another style than they had lately used, with many professions of duty; and declaring, " that if he was not, in all " respects, treated as he ought to be, and as he " desired, it was not their fault, who desired he " might be at full liberty, and do what he would;" hoping that the king would have been induced to desire to come to London, and to make complaint of the army's having taken him from Holmby; by which they believed the king's party would be disabused, and withdraw their hopes of any good from

the army; and then, they thought, they should be hard enough for them.

The king was in great doubt how to carry himself; he thought himself so barbarously used by the presbyterians, and had so ill an opinion of all the principal persons who governed them, that he had no mind to put himself into their hands. On the other side, he was far from being satisfied with the army's good intentions towards him; and though many of his friends were suffered to resort to him, they found that their being long about him, would not be acceptable; and though the officers and soldiers appeared, for the most part, civil to him, they were all at least as vigilant, as the former guards had been; so that he could not, without great difficulty, have got from them if he had desired it. Fairfax had been with him, and kissed his hand, and made such professions as he could well utter; which was with no advantage in the delivery; his authority was of no use, because he resigned himself entirely to Cromwell; who had been, and Ireton likewise, with the king, without either of them offering to kiss his hand; otherwise, they behaved themselves with good manners towards him. His majesty used all the address he could towards them to draw some promise from them; but they were so reserved, and stood so much upon their guard, and used so few words, that nothing could be concluded from what they said: they excused themselves "for not seeing his "majesty often, upon the great jealousies the par-"liament had of them, towards whom they pro-"fessed all fidelity." The persons who resorted to his majesty, and brought advices from others who

durst not yet offer to come themselves, brought several opinions to him; some thinking the army would deal sincerely with his majesty, others expecting no better from them than they afterwards performed: so that the king wisely concluded that he would neither reject the parliament addresses by any neglect, nor disoblige the army by appearing to have jealousy of them, or a desire to be out of their hands; which he could hardly have done, if he had known a better place to have resorted to. So he desired both parties "to hasten their con-"sultations, that the kingdom might enjoy peace "and happiness: in which he should not be with-"out a share; and he would pray to God to bring "this to pass as soon as was possible."

The news of the king's being in the army, of his freedom in the exercise of his religion, which he had been so long without, and that some of his servants, with whom he was well pleased, had liberty to attend upon him, made every body abroad, as well as those at home, hope well; and the king himself writ to the queen, as if he thought his condition much better than it had been among the Scots. Sir John Berkley, after his surrender of Exeter, and the spending his six months allowed by the articles to solicit his affairs where he would, had transported himself into France, and waited upon the queen at Paris, being still a menial servant to her majesty, and having a friend in that court that governed, and loved him better than any body else did. As soon as the reports came thither of the king's being with the army, he repeated many discourses he had held with the officers of the army, whilst they treated with him of the

delivery of Exeter; how he had told them, "upon "how slippery ground they stood; that the parlia- "ment, when they had served their turn, would "dismiss them with reproach, and give them very "small rewards for the great service they had done "for them; that they should do well, seasonably "to think of a safe retreat, which could be no "where but under the protection of the king; "who by their courage and virtue was brought very "low; and if they raised him again, he must owe "it all to them; and his posterity, as well as him- "self, and all his party, must for ever acknowledge "it, by which they would raise their fortunes, as "well as their fame, to the greatest degree men "could aim at;" which, he said, made such an impression upon this and that officer, whom he named, "that they told him at parting, that they "should never forget what he had said to them; "and that they already observed that every day "produced somewhat that would put them in mind "of it." In a word, "he had foretold all that was "since come to pass, and he was most confident, "that, if he were now with them, he should be "welcome, and have credit enough to bring them "to reason, and to do the king great service;" and offered, without any delay, to make the journey. The queen believed all he said; and they who did not, were very willing he should make the experiment; for he that loved him best, was very willing to be without him; and so receiving the queen's letter of recommendation of him to the king, who knew him very little, and that little not without great prejudice, he left Paris, and made all possible haste into England. John Ashburnham, who was

driven from the king by the Scots after he had conducted his majesty to them, had transported himself into France, and was at this time residing in Rouen; having found, upon his address to the queen at Paris upon his first arrival, that his abode in some other place would not be ungrateful to her majesty, and so he removed to Rouen; where he had the society of many who had served the king in the most eminent qualifications. When he heard where the king was, and that there was not the same restraint that had been formerly, he resolved to make an adventure to wait on him; having no reason to doubt but that his presence would be very acceptable to the king; and though the other envoy from Paris, and he, did not make their journey into England together, nor had the least communication with each other, being in truth of several parties and purposes, yet they arrived there, and at the army, near the same time.

Berkley first applied himself to those subordinate officers with whom he had some acquaintance at Exeter, and they informing their superiors of his arrival and application, they were well pleased that he was come. They were well acquainted with his talent, and knew his foible, that, by flattering and commending, they might govern him; and that there was no danger of any deep design from his contrivance; and so they permitted him freely to attend the king, about whose person he had no title, or relation, which required any constant waiting upon him.

Ashburnham had, by some friends, a recommendation both to Cromwell and Ireton, who knew the credit he had with the king, and that his

majesty would be very well pleased to have his attendance, and look upon it as a testimony of their respect to him. They knew likewise that he was an implacable enemy to the Scots, and no friend to the other presbyterians, and though he had some ordinary craft in insinuating, he was of no deep and piercing judgment to discover what was not unwarily exposed, and a free speaker of what he imagined: so they likewise left him at liberty to repair to the king; and these two gentlemen came near about the same time to his majesty, when the army was drawing together, with a purpose, which was not yet published, of marching to London; his majesty being still quartered in those places which were more proper for that purpose.

They were both welcome to his majesty, the one bringing a special recommendation from the queen, and, to make himself the more valuable, assured his majesty, "that he was sent for by the officers of "the army, as one they would trust, and that they "had received him with open arms; and, without "any scruple, gave him leave to wait upon him:" the other needed no recommendation, the king's own inclinations disposing him to be very gracious to him; and so his majesty wished them "to cor-"respond with each other, and to converse with "his several friends, who did not yet think fit to "resort to him; and to receive their advice; to "discover as much as they could of the intentions of "both parties, and impart what was fit to the "king, till, upon a farther discovery, his majesty "might better judge what to do." These two were the principal agents, (they conferring with all

his majesty's friends, and, as often as they desired, with the officers of the army,) upon whose information and advice his majesty principally depended, though they rarely conferred together with the same persons, and never with any of the officers, who pretended not to trust one another enough to speak with that freedom before each other, as they would to one of them; and their acquaintance among the officers not being principally with the same men, their informations and advices were often very different, and more perplexed than informed his majesty.

The very high contests between the parliament and the army, in which neither side could be persuaded to yield to the other, or abate any of their asperity, made many prudent men believe that both sides would, in the end, be willing to make the king the umpire; which neither of them ever intended to do. The parliament thought that their name and authority, which had carried them through so great undertakings, and reduced the whole kingdom to their obedience, could not be overpowered by their own army, raised and paid by themselves, and to whose dictates the people would never submit. They thought the king's presence amongst them gave them all their present reputation; and were not without apprehension that the ambition of some of the officers, and their malice to the parliament, when they saw that they could obtain their ends no other way, might dispose them to an entire conjunction with the king's party and interest; and then, all the penalties of treason, rebellion, and trespasses, must be discharged at their costs; and therefore they laboured,

by all the public and private means they could, to persuade the king to own his being detained prisoner by the army against his will, or to withdraw himself by some way from them, and repair to Whitehall; and, in either of those cases, they did not doubt, first, to divide the army, (for they still believed the general fast to them,) and by degrees to bring them to reason, and to be disbanded, as many as were not necessary for the service of Ireland; and then, having the king to themselves, and all his party being obnoxious to those penalties for their delinquency, they should be well able, by gratifying some of the greatest persons of the nobility with immunity and indemnity, to settle the government in such a manner, as to be well recompensed for all the adventures they had made, and hazards they had run.

On the other hand, the army had no dread of the authority and power of the parliament; which they knew had been so far prostituted, that it had lost most of its reverence with the people. But it had great apprehension, that, by its conjunction with the city, it might indeed recover credit with the kingdom, and withhold the pay of the army, and thereby make some division amongst them; and if the person of the king should be likewise with them, and thereby his party should likewise join with them, they should be to begin their work again, or to make their peace with those who were as much provoked by them as the king himself had been. And therefore they were sensible that they enjoyed a present benefit by the king's being with them, and by their treating him with the outward respect that was due to his majesty, and the civili-

ties they made profession of towards all his party, and the permission of his chaplains, and other servants, to resort to him; and cultivated all these artifices with great address, suppressing or discountenancing the tyranny of the presbyterians in the country committees, and all other places, where they exercised notable rigour against all who had been of the king's party, or not enough of theirs, (for neuters found no excuse for being of no party.) When they found it fit to make any lusty declaration against the parliament, and exclaim against their tyrannical proceedings against the army, they always inserted somewhat that might look like candour and tenderness towards the king's party, complained of "the affront and indignity done to "the army by the parliament's not observing the "articles which had been made upon surrender of "garrisons, but proceeding against those on whose "behalf those articles were made, with more "severity than was agreeable to justice, and to "the intention of the articles; whereby the honour "and faith of the army suffered, and was com-"plained of; all which, they said, they would have "remedied." Whereupon many hoped that they should be excused from making any compositions, and entertained such other imaginations as pleased themselves, and the other party well liked; knowing they could demolish all those structures as soon as they received no benefit by them themselves.

The king had, during the time he stayed at Holmby, writ to the house of peers, that his children might have leave to come to him, and to reside for some time with him. From the time

that Oxford had been surrendered, upon which the duke of York had fallen into their hands, for they would by no means admit that he should have liberty to go to such place as the king should direct, which was very earnestly pressed, and insisted on by the lords of the council there, as long as they could; but appointed their committee to receive him with all respect, and to bring him to London: from that time, I say, the duke of York was committed to the care of the earl of Northumberland, together with the duke of Gloucester, and the princess, who had been by the king left under the tuition of the countess of Dorset, but from the death of that countess the parliament had presumed, that they might be sure to keep them in their power, to put them into the custody of the lady Vere, an old lady much in their favour, but not at all ambitious of that charge, though there was a competent allowance assigned for their support. They were now removed from her, and placed all together with the earl of Northumberland, who received and treated them, in all respects, as was suitable to their birth, and his own duty; but could give them no more liberty to go abroad, than he was, in his instructions from the parliament, permitted to do; and they had absolutely refused to gratify the king in that particular; of which his majesty no sooner took notice to Fairfax, than he writ a letter to the parliament, "that the "king much desired to have the sight and company "of his children, and that if they might not be "allowed to be longer with him, that at least they "might dine with him;" and he sent them word that, on such a day, "the king, who attended the

"motion of the army, and was quartered only "where they pleased, would dine at Maidenhead." There his children met him, to his infinite content and joy; and he being to quarter and stay some time at Caversham, a house of the lord Craven's, near Reading, his children were likewise suffered to go thither, and remained with him two days; which was the greatest satisfaction the king could receive; and the receiving whereof he imputed to the civility of the general, and the good disposition of the army; which made so much the more impression upon him, in that he had never made any one proposition in which he had been gratified, where the presbyterian spirit had power to deny it.

In the house of commons, which was now the scene of all the action that displeased and incensed the army, (for the house of peers was shrunk into so inconsiderable a number, and their persons not considerable after the death of the earl of Essex, except those who were affected to, or might be disposed by, the army,) they were wholly guided by Hollis, and Stapleton, Lewis, and Glyn, who had been very popular and notorious from the beginning, and by Waller, and Massey, and Brown, who had served in commands in the army, and performed at some times very signal service, and were exceedingly beloved in the city, and two or three others who followed their dictates, and were subservient to their directions. These were all men of parts, interest, and signal courage, and did not only heartily abhor the intentions which they discerned the army to have, and that it was wholly to be disposed according to the designs of Crom-

well, but had likewise declared animosities against the persons of the most active and powerful officers; as Hollis had one day, upon a very hot debate in the house, and some rude expressions which fell from Ireton, persuaded him to walk out of the house with him, and then told him, "that "he should presently go over the water and fight "with him." Ireton told him, "his conscience "would not suffer him to fight a duel;" upon which Hollis, in choler, pulled him by the nose; telling him, "if his conscience would keep him "from giving men satisfaction, it should keep him "from provoking them." This affront to the third person of the army, and to a man of the most virulent, malicious, and revengeful nature of all the pack, so incensed the whole party, that they were resolved one way or other to be rid of him, who had that power in the house, and that reputation abroad, that when he could not absolutely control their designs, he did so obstruct them, that they could not advance to any conclusion.

They resorted therefore to an expedient, which, they had observed, by the conduct of those very men against whom they meant to apply it, had brought to pass all that they desired; and, in the council of officers, prepared an impeachment of high treason in general terms against Mr. Hollis, and the persons mentioned before, and others, to the number of eleven members of the house of commons. This impeachment twelve officers of the army, colonels, lieutenant colonels, majors, and captains, presented to the house; and within few days after, when they saw the same members still inveigh against and arraign their proceedings, the

general and officers writ a letter to the house, " that they would appoint fit persons on their and " the kingdom's behalf, to make good the charge " against those members whom they had accused; " and that they desired, that those members im- " peached might be forthwith suspended from sit- " ting in the house; since it could not be thought " fit that the same persons who had so much " injured and provoked the army, should sit judges " of their own actions." This was an arrow that the house of commons did not expect would have been shot out of that quiver; and though they were unspeakably dismayed, and distracted with this presumption, they answered positively, " that " they neither would, nor could, sequester those " members from the house, who had never said or " done any thing in the house worthy of censure, " till proof were made of such particulars as might " render them guilty." But the officers of the army replied, " that they could prove them guilty " of such practices in the house, that it would be " just in the house to suspend them: that by the " laws of the land, and the precedents of parlia- " ment, the lords had, upon the very presentation " of a general accusation without being reduced " into writing, sequestered from their house and " committed the earl of Strafford, and the arch- " bishop of Canterbury, and the lord Finch; and " therefore they must press, and insist upon the " suspending at least of those accused members " from being present in the house, where they " stood impeached; and without this, they said, " the army would not be satisfied." However the house of commons seemed still resolute, the ac-

cused members themselves, who best knew their temper, thought it safer for them to retire, and by forbearing to be present in the house, to allay the heat of the present contest.

Upon this so palpable declension of spirit in the house, the army seemed much quieter, and resolved to set other agents on their work, that they might not appear too busy and active in their own concernment. It is very true that the city, upon whose influence the parliament wholly depended, appeared now entirely presbyterian; the court of aldermen, and common council, consisted only of men of that spirit; the militia of the city was committed to commissioners carefully and factiously chosen of that party; all those of another temper having been put out of those trusts, at or about the time that the king was delivered up by the Scots, when the officers of the army were content that the presbyterians should believe, that the whole power of the kingdom was in them; and that they might settle what government they pleased; if there remained any persons in any of those employments in the city, it was by their dissimulation, and pretending to have other affections; all who were notorious to be of any other faction in religion, had been put out; and lived as neglected and discountenanced men; who seemed rather to depend upon the clemency and indulgence of the state, for their particular liberty in the exercise of that religion they adhered to, than to have any hope or ambition to be again admitted into any share or part in the government: yet, after all this dissimulation, Cromwell and Ireton well knew, that the multitude of inferior people

were at their disposal, and would appear in any conjuncture they should think convenient; and that many aldermen and substantial citizens were quiet, and appeared not to contradict or oppose the presbyterians, only by their directions; and would be ready upon their call. And now, when they saw those leading men, who had governed the parliament, prosecuted by the army, and that they forbore to come to the house, there flocked together great numbers of the lowest and most inferior people, to the parliament, with petitions of several natures, both with reference to religion and to the civil government; with the noise and clamour whereof the parliament was so offended and disturbed, that they made an ordinance, "that it "should be treason to gather and solicit the sub-"scriptions of hands to petitions." But this order so offended all parties, that they were compelled, within two days, to revoke it, and to leave all men to their natural liberty. Whilst this confusion was in the city and parliament, the commissioners, which had been sent to the army to treat with the officers, had no better success; but returned with the positive and declared resolution of the army, "that a declaration should be published by the par-"liament against the coming in of foreign force:" for they apprehended, or rather were willing that the people should apprehend, a new combination by the Scots: "that the pay of the army should "be put into a constant course, and all persons "who had received money, should be called to an "account: that the militia of London should be "put into the hands of persons well affected, and "those who had been formerly trusted: that all

" persons imprisoned for pretended misdemean-
" ours, by order of parliament, or their committees,
" might be set at liberty; and, if upon trial they
" should be found innocent, that they might have
" good reparation." And they particularly mentioned John Lilburn, Overton, and other anabaptists and fanatics, who had been committed by the parliament for many seditious meetings, under pretence of exercise of their religion, and many insolent actions against the government. Upon the report of these demands, the parliament grew more enraged; and voted, " that the yielding to
" the army in these particulars would be against
" their honour, and their interest, and destructive
" to their privileges;" with many expressions against their presumption and insolence: yet, when a new rabble of petitioners demanded, with loud cries, most of the same things, they were willing to compound with them; and consented that the militia of the city of London should be put into such hands as the army should desire.

The militia of the city had been in the beginning of May, shortly after the king's being brought to Holmby, settled with the consent, and upon the desire, of the common council, by ordinance of parliament, in the hands of commissioners, who were all of the presbyterian party, they who were of other inclinations being removed; and, as is said before, seemed not displeased at their disgrace; and now, when upon the declarations and demands of the army, seconded by clamorous petitions, they saw this ordinance reversed, in the beginning of July, without so much as consulting with the common council according to custom, the

city was exceedingly startled; and said, "that if "the imperious command of the army could pre- "vail with the parliament to reverse such an ordi- "nance as that of the militia, they had reason to "apprehend they might as well repeal the other "ordinances for the security of money, or for the "purchase of bishops' and church lands, or what- "soever else that was the proper security of the "subject." And therefore they caused a petition to be prepared in the name of the city, to be presented by the two sheriffs, and others deputed by the common council to that purpose. But, before they were ready, many thousands, apprentices and young citizens, brought petitions to the parliament; in which they said, "that the command of the "militia of the city was the birthright of the city, "and belonged to them by several charters which "had been confirmed in parliament; for defence "whereof, they said, they had ventured their lives "as far and as frankly as the army had done; and "therefore, they desired that the ordinance of "parliament of the fourth of May, which had "passed with their consent, might stand invio- "lable." They first presented their petition to the house of peers, who immediately revoked their late ordinance of July, and confirmed their former of May; and sent it down to the commons for their consent; who durst not deny their concurrence, the apprentices behaving themselves so insolently, that they would scarce suffer the door of the house of commons to be shut; and some of them went into the house.

And in this manner the ordinance was reversed that had been made at the desire of the army, and

the other of May ratified and confirmed; which was no sooner done than the parliament adjourned till Friday, that they might have two or three days to consider how they should behave themselves, and prevent the like violences hereafter. The army had quickly notice of these extraordinary proceedings, and the general writ a very sharp letter to the parliament from Bedford; in which he put them in mind, "how civilly the "army had complied with their desire, by remov-"ing to a greater distance, upon presumption that "their own authority would have been able to have "secured them from any rudeness, and violence of "the people; which it was now evident it could "not do, by the uparalleled violation of all their "privileges, on the Monday before, by a multitude "from the city, which had been encouraged by "several common council men, and other citizens "in authority; which was an act so prodigious "and horrid as must dissolve all government, if "not severely and exemplarily chastised: that the "army looked upon themselves as accountable to "the kingdom, if this unheard of outrage, by which "the peace and settlement of the nation, and the "relief of Ireland, had been so notoriously inter-"rupted, should not be strictly examined, and "justice speedily done upon the offenders." Upon Friday, to which both houses had adjourned, the members came together, in as full numbers as they had used to meet, there being above one hundred and forty of the house of commons; but, after they had sat some time in expectation of their speaker, they were informed that he was gone out of the town early that morning; and they observed that

sir Henry Vane, and some few other members who used to concur with him, were likewise absent. The house of peers found likewise that the earl of Manchester, their speaker, had withdrawn himself, together with the earl of Northumberland, and some other lords; but the major part still remained there, full of indignation against those who were absent, and who they all concluded were gone to the army. Hereupon both houses chose new speakers; who accepted the office; and the commons presently voted, "that the eleven members "who stood impeached by the army, and had dis- "continued coming to the house, should presently "appear, and take their places." They made an ordinance of parliament, by which a committee of safety was appointed to join with the city militia, and had authority to raise men for the defence of the parliament; which they appeared so vigorously resolved on, that no man in the houses, or in the city, seemed to intend any thing else. The news of this roused up the army, and the general presently sent a good party of horse into Windsor, and marched himself to Uxbridge, and appointed a general rendezvous for the whole army upon Hounslow heath, within two days; when and where there appeared twenty thousand foot and horse, with a train of artillery, and all other provisions proportionable to such an army.

As soon as the rendezvous was appointed at Hounslow heath, at the same time the king removed to Hampton Court; which was prepared, and put into as good order for his reception, as could have been done in the best time. The houses seemed for some time to retain their spirit and

vigour, and the city talked of listing men, and defending themselves, and not suffering the army to approach nearer to them: but, when they knew the day of the rendezvous, those in both houses who had been too weak to carry any thing, and so had looked on whilst such votes were passed as they liked not and could not oppose, now when their friend the army was so near, recovered their spirits, and talked very loud; and persuaded the rest, "to think in time of making their peace with "the army, that could not be withstood." And the city grew every day more appalled, irresolute, and confounded, one man proposing this, and another somewhat contrary to that, like men amazed and distracted. When the army met upon Hounslow heath at their rendezvous, the speakers of both houses, who had privately before met with the chief officers of the army, appeared there with their maces, and such other members as accompanied them; complaining to the general, "that they "had not freedom at Westminster, but were in "danger of their lives by the tumults;" and appealed to the army for their protection.

This looked like a new act of Providence to vindicate the army from all reproaches, and to justify them in all they had done, as absolutely done for the preservation of the parliament and kingdom. If this had been a retreat of sir Harry Vane and some other discontented men, who were known to be independents, and fanatics in their opinions in religion, and of the army faction, who, being no longer able to oppose the wisdom of the parliament, had fled to their friends for protection from justice, they would have got no reputation,

nor the army been thought the better of for their company: but neither of the speakers were ever looked upon as inclined to the army; Lenthall was generally believed to have no malice towards the king, and not to be without good inclinations to the church; and the earl of Manchester, who was speaker of the house of peers, was known to have all the prejudice imaginable against Cromwell; and had formerly accused him of want of duty to the parliament; and the other hated him above all men, and desired to have taken away his life. The earl of Manchester and the earl of Warwick were the two pillars of the presbyterian party; and that they two, with the earl of Northumberland, and some other of the lords, and some of the commons, who had appeared to disapprove all the proceedings of the army, should now join with sir Harry Vane, and appeal to the army for protection, with that formality as if they had brought the whole parliament with them, and had been entirely driven and forced away by the city, appeared to every stander-by so stupendous a thing, that it is not to this day understood otherwise, than that they were resolved to have their particular shares in the treaty, which they believed the chief officers of the army to have near concluded with the king. For that they never intended to put the whole power into the hands of the army, nor had any kindness to, or confidence in, the officers thereof, was very apparent by their carriage and behaviour after, as well as before; and if they had continued together, considering how much the city was devoted to them, it is probable that the army would not have used any force; which might have received a fatal repulse; but

that some good compromise might have been made by the interposition of the king. But this schism carried all the reputation and authority to the army, and left none in the parliament; for though it presently appeared, that the number of those who left the houses was very small in comparison of those who remained behind, and who proceeded with the same vigour in declaring against the army, and the city seemed as resolute in putting themselves into a posture, and preparing for their defence, all their works and fortifications being still entire, so that they might have put the army to great trouble if they had steadily pursued their resolutions, (which they did not yet seem in any degree to decline,) yet this rent made all the accused members, who were the men of parts and reputation to conduct their counsels, to withdraw themselves upon the astonishment; some concealing themselves, till they had opportunity to make their peace, and others withdrawing and transporting themselves beyond the seas; whereof Stapleton died at Calais as soon as he landed, and was denied burial, upon imagination that he had died of the plague: others remained a long time beyond the seas; and, though they long after returned, never were received into any trust in those times, nor in truth concurred or acted in the public affairs, but retired to their own estates, and lived very privately.

The chief officers of the army received the two speakers, and the members who accompanied them, as so many angels sent from heaven for their good; paid them all the respect imaginable, and professed all submission to them, as to the parliament of

England; and declared, "that they would rees-
"tablish them in their full power, or perish in the
"attempt;" took very particular care for their accommodations, before the general; and assigned a guard to wait upon them for their security; acquainted them with all their consultations; and would not presume to resolve any thing without their approbation; and they had too much modesty to think they could do amiss, who had prospered so much in all their undertakings. No time was lost in pursuing their resolution to establish the parliament again at Westminster; and finding that the rest of the members continued still to sit there with the same formality, and that the city did not abate any of their spirit, they seemed to make a halt, and to remain quiet, in expectation of a better understanding between them, upon the messages they every day sent to the lord mayor, and aldermen, and common council, (for of those at Westminster they took no notice,) and quartered their army about Brentford, and Hounslow, Twickenham, and the adjacent villages, without restraining any provisions, which every day according to custom were carried to London, or doing the least action that might disoblige or displease the city; the army being in truth under so excellent discipline, that nobody could complain of any damage sustained by them, or any provocation by word or deed. However, in this calm, they sent over colonel Rainsborough with a brigade of horse and foot, and cannon, at Hampton Court, to possess Southwark, and those works which secured that end of London-bridge; which he did with so little noise, that in one night's march he found himself

master without any opposition, not only of the borough of Southwark, but of all the works and forts which were to defend it; the soldiers within shaking hands with those without, and refusing to obey their officers which were to command them: so that the city, without knowing that any such thing was in agitation, found in the morning that all that avenue to the town was possessed by the enemy; whom they were providing to resist on the other side, being as confident of this that they had lost, as of any gate of the city.

This struck them dead; and put an end to all their consultation for defence; and put other thoughts into their heads, how they might pacify those whom they had so much offended and provoked; and how they might preserve their city from plunder, and the fury of an enraged army. They who had ever been of the army party, and of late had shut themselves up, and not dared to walk the streets for fear of the people, came now confidently amongst them, and mingled in their councils; declared, "that the king and the army were "now agreed in all particulars, and that both "houses were now with the army, and had pre-"sented themselves to the king; so that to oppose "the army would be to oppose the king and par-"liament, and to incense them as much as the "army." Upon such confident discourses and insinuations from those with whom they would not have conversed, or given the least credit to, three days before, or rather upon the confusion and general distraction they were in, they sent six aldermen and six commoners to the general; who lamented and complained, "that the city should be

" suspected, that had never acted any thing against " the parliament; and therefore, they desired him " to forbear doing any thing that might be the " occasion of a new war." But the general little considered this message, and gave less countenance to the messengers; but continued his slow marches towards the city: whereupon they sent an humble message to him, " that since they understood that " the reason of his march so near London was to " restore and settle the members (the lords and " commons) of parliament to the liberty and privi- " lege of sitting securely in their several houses, " (to which the city would contribute all their " power and service,) they prayed him, with all " submission, that he would be pleased to send " such a guard of horse and foot as he thought to " be sufficient for that purpose; and that the ports " and all passages should be open to them; and " they should do any thing else that his excellency " would command." To which he made no other answer but " that he would have all the forts of the " west side of the city to be delivered immediately " to him;" those of the other side being already, as is said, in the hands of Rainsborough and his other officers. The common council, that sat day and night, upon the receipt of this message, without any pause returned " that they would humbly " submit to his command; and that now, under " Almighty God, they did rely only upon his excel- " lency's honourable word for their protection and " security." And so they caused their militia to be forthwith drawn off from the line, as well as out of the forts, with all their cannon and ordnance; and the general appointed a better guard to both.

At Hyde Park the mayor and aldermen met him, and humbly congratulated his arrival; and besought him " to excuse what they had, out of their good " meaning and desire of peace, done amiss;" and as a testimony of their affection and duty, the mayor, on the behalf of the city, presented a great gold cup to the general; which he sullenly refused to receive, and, with very little ceremony, dismissed them.

He himself waited upon the two speakers, and conducted them, and their members, to the several houses, where the other members were then sitting: even in the instant when the revolters, as they had called them, entered into the houses, the old speakers assumed their places again, and entered upon their business, as if there had been no separation. The first thing they did, was calling in the general into both houses, and making him a large acknowledgment in the name of each house, of the great favours he had done to them: they thanked him " for the protection he had given to their persons, " and his vindication of the privileges of parliament." Then they voted " all that had been " done by themselves in going to the army, and in " residing there, and all that had been done by the " army, to be well and lawfully done;" and " that " all that had been done in the houses since their " departure, was against law, and privilege of par- " liament, invalid and void:" then they adjourned to the next day, without questioning or punishing any member who had acted there.

The army of horse, foot, and cannon, marched the next day through the city, (which, upon the desire of the parliament, undertook forthwith to

supply an hundred thousand pounds for the payment of the army,) without the least disorder, or doing the least damage to any person, or giving any disrespective word to any man: by which they attained the reputation of being in excellent discipline, and that both officers and soldiers were men of extraordinary temper and sobriety. So they marched over London-bridge into Southwark, and to those quarters to which they were assigned; some regiments were quartered in Westminster, the Strand, and Holborn, under pretence of being a guard to the parliament, but intended as a guard upon the city. The general's head-quarters were at Chelsea, and the rest of the army quartered between Hampton Court and London, that the king might be well looked to; and the council of officers, and agitators, sat constantly and formally at Fulham and Chelsea, to provide that no other settlement should be made for the government of the kingdom than what they should well approve.

Whilst these things were thus agitated between the army and the parliament and the city, the king enjoyed himself at Hampton Court, much to his content; the respects of the chief officers of the army seeming much greater than they had been; Cromwell himself came oftener to him, and had longer conferences with him; talked with more openness to Mr. Ashburnham than he had done, and appeared more cheerful. Persons of all conditions repaired to his majesty of those who had served him; with whom he conferred without reservation; and the citizens flocked thither as they had used to do at the end of a progress, when the king had been some months absent from London: but

that which pleased his majesty most, was, that his children were permitted to come to him, in whom he took great delight. His eldest daughter was married, and had been some time in Holland; the prince was in France, but all the rest of his children were in the power of the parliament, except only the youngest, the princess Henrietta, whom he had never seen, she being born at Exeter very little before the queen's transportation into France; and after the surrender of Exeter, having been by her governess the countess of Morton stolen away, and with great success carried into France to the queen, whilst the king was at Newcastle, according to the command she had received. When the king left Oxford, to make an escape from the army, and to put himself into the hands of the Scots, he could not but leave the duke of York behind him, whom he had before thought to have sent into Ireland, when he believed his affairs there to be in a better condition than he then understood them to be; and so he remained in Oxford when that place was surrendered. His highness was received by the committee of the parliament, to whom then the army paid all obedience; nor would it be admitted into the treaty that his highness should have liberty to go to such place as the king should appoint. There were at the same time the duke of Gloucester, and two princesses, who had been all under the care of the countess of Dorset, the governess appointed by the king; but she being lately dead, and one of the princesses likewise departed this life, when the duke of York was brought up to London, he and the other two were all committed by the parliament to the care and government of the earl of Northum-

berland, who treated them in all respects as was agreeable to their quality and his duty. They were all at the earl of Northumberland's house, at Sion, from the time the king came to Hampton Court, and had liberty to attend his majesty when he pleased; so that sometimes he sent for them to come to Hampton Court, and sometimes he went to them to Sion; which gave him great divertisement.

In this conversation, as if his majesty had foreseen all that befell him afterwards, and which at that time sure he did not suspect, he took great care to instruct his children how to behave themselves, if the worst should befall him that the worst of his enemies did contrive or wish; and "that they "should preserve unshaken their affection and duty "to the prince their brother." The duke of York was then about fifteen years of age; and so, capable of any information or instruction the king thought fit to give him. His majesty told him, "that he looked upon himself as in the hands and "disposal of the army, and that the parliament had "no more power to do him good or harm, than as "the army should direct or permit; and that he "knew not, in all this time he had been with them, "what he might promise himself from those officers "of the army at whose devotion it was: that he "hoped well, yet with much doubt and fear; and "therefore he gave him this general direction and "command, that if there appeared any such altera-"tion in the affection of the army, that they re-"strained him from the liberty he then enjoyed of "seeing his children, or suffered not his friends to "resort to him with that freedom that they enjoyed

" at present, he might conclude they would shortly " use him worse, and that he should not be long " out of a prison; and therefore that from the time " he discovered such an alteration, he should be- " think himself how he might make an escape out " of their power, and transport himself beyond the " seas." The place he recommended to him was Holland; where he presumed his sister would receive him very kindly, and that the prince of Orange her husband would be well pleased with it, though, possibly, the States might restrain him from making those expressions of his affection his own inclination prompted him to. He wished him to think always of this, as a thing possible to fall out, and so spake frequently to him of it, and of the circumstances and cautions which were necessary to attend it.

The princess Elizabeth was not above a year or two younger than the duke, a lady of excellent parts, great observation, and an early understanding; which the king discerned, by the account she gave him both of things and persons, upon the experience she had had of both. His majesty enjoined her, " upon the worst that could befall him, never " to be disposed of in marriage without the consent " and approbation of the queen her mother, and " the prince her brother; and always to perform " all duty and obedience to both those; and to " obey the queen in all things, except in matter of " religion; to which he commanded her, upon his " blessing, never to hearken or consent; but to " continue firm in the religion she had been in- " structed and educated in, what discountenance

" and ruin soever might befall the poor church, at " that time under so severe prosecution."

The duke of Gloucester was very young, being at that time not above seven years old, and so might well be thought incapable of retaining that advice, and injunction, which in truth ever after made so deep impression in him. After he had given him all the advice he thought convenient in the matter of religion, and commanded him positively, " never to be persuaded or threatened out of " the religion of the church, in which he hoped he " would be well instructed, and for the purity and " integrity whereof he bid him remember that he " had his father's testimony and authority;" his majesty told him, " that his infancy, and the ten- " derness of his years, might persuade some men " to hope and believe, that he might be made an " instrument, and property, to advance their wicked " designs; and if they should take away his life, " they might, possibly, the better to attain their " own ends, make him king; that under him, " whilst his age would not permit him to judge, " and act for himself, they might remove many " obstructions which lay in their way; and form " and unite their councils; and then they would " destroy him too. But he commanded him, upon " his blessing, never to forget what he said to him " upon this occasion, nor to accept, or suffer him- " self to be made king, whilst either of his elder " brothers lived, in what part of the world soever " they should be: that he should remember that " the prince his brother was to succeed him by the " laws of God and man; and, if he should mis-

" carry, that the duke of York was to succeed " in the same right; and therefore that he should " be sure never to be made use of to interrupt or " disturb either of their rights; which would in the " end turn to his own destruction." And this discourse the king reiterated to him, as often as he had liberty to see him, with all the earnestness and passion he could express; which was so fixed in his memory that he never forgot it. And many years after, when he was sent out of England, he made the full relation of all the particulars to me, with that commotion of spirit, that it appeared to be deeply rooted in him; and made use of one part of it very seasonably afterwards, when there was more than an ordinary attempt made to have perverted him in his religion, and to persuade him to become Roman catholic for the advancement of his fortune.

In this manner, and with these kind of reflections, the king made use of the liberty he enjoyed; and considered as well, what remedies to apply to the worst that could fall out, as to caress the officers of the army in order to the improvement of his condition, of which he was not yet in any despair; the chief officers, and all the heads of that party, looking upon it as their wisest policy to cherish the king's hopes by the liberty they gave him, and by a very flowing courtesy towards all who had been of his party; whose expectation, and good word, and testimony, they found did them much good both in the city and the country.

At this time the lord Capel, whom we left in Jersey, hearing of the difference between the parliament and the army, left his two friends there; and made a journey to Paris to the prince, that he

might receive his highness's approbation of his going for England; which he very willingly gave; well knowing that he would improve all opportunities, with great diligence, for the king his father's service: and then that lord transported himself into Zealand, his friends having advised him to be in those parts before they endeavoured to procure a pass for him; which they easily did, as soon as he came thither; and so he had liberty to remain at his own house in the country, where he was exceedingly beloved, and hated nowhere. And in this general and illimited indulgence, he took the opportunity to wait upon the king at Hampton Court; and gave him a particular account of all that passed at Jersey, before the prince's remove from thence, and of the reasons which induced those of the council to remain still there, and of many other particulars, of which his majesty had never before been informed, and which put it out of any body's power to do the chancellor of the exchequer any ill offices: and from thence the king writ, with his own hand, a very gracious and kind letter to the chancellor at Jersey; full of hope "that he should conclude such a treaty with the "army and parliament, that he should shortly draw "him, and some other of his friends, to him." He thanked him "for undertaking the work he was "upon; and told him, he should expect speedily "to receive some contribution from him towards "it;" and, within a very short time afterwards, he sent to him his own memorials (or those which by his command had been kept, and were perused, and corrected by himself) of all that had passed from the time he had left his majesty at Oxford, when

he waited upon the prince into the west, to the very day that the king left Oxford to go to the Scots; out of which memorials, as hath been said before, the most important passages in the years 1644 and 1645 are faithfully collected. To the lord Capel his majesty imparted all his hopes and all his fears; and what great overtures the Scots had again made to him; and "that he did really believe that it "could not be long before there would be a war "between the two nations; in which the Scots "promised themselves an universal concurrence "from all the presbyterians in England; and that, "in such a conjuncture, he wished that his own "party would put themselves in arms, without "which he could not expect great benefit by the "success of the other:" and therefore desired Capel "to watch such a conjuncture, and draw his friends "together;" which he promised to do effectually; and did, very punctually, afterwards, to the loss of his own life. Then the king enjoined him "to "write to the chancellor of the exchequer, that "whenever the queen, or prince, should require "him to come to them, he should not fail to yield "obedience to their command;" and himself writ to the queen, "that whenever the season should "be ripe for the prince to engage himself in any "action, she should not fail to send for the chan-"cellor of the exchequer to wait upon him in it." And many things were then adjusted, upon the foresight of future contingencies, which were afterwards thought fit to be executed.

The marquis of Ormond had, by special command and order from the king whilst he was with the Scots at Newcastle, delivered up the city of Dublin

to the parliament, after the Irish had so infamously broken the peace they had made with the king, and brought their whole army before Dublin to besiege it; by which he was reduced to those straits, that he had no other election than to deliver it to the Irish, or to the parliament; of which his majesty being informed, determined, he should give it to the parliament; which he did, with full conditions for all those who had served his majesty; and so transported himself into England, and, from London, presented himself to the king at Hampton Court; who received him with extraordinary grace, as a person who had served him with great zeal and fidelity, and with the most universal testimony of all good men that any man could receive. He used less application to the parliament and army than other men, relying upon the articles the parliament had signed to him; by which he had liberty to stay so many months in England, and at the end thereof to transport himself into the parts beyond the seas, if in the mean time he made no composition with the parliament: which he never intended to do; and though he knew well that there were many jealous eyes upon him, he repaired frequently to present his duty to the king; who was exceedingly pleased to confer with him, and to find that he was resolved to undertake any enterprise that might advance his service; which the king himself, and most other men who wished well to it, did at that time believe to be in no desperate condition. And no men were fuller of professions of duty, and a resolution to run all hazards, than the Scottish commissioners; who, from the time they had delivered up the king, resided at London

with their usual confidence, and loudly complained of the presumption of the army in seizing upon the person of the king, insinuated themselves to all those who were thought to be most constant, and inseparable from the interest of the crown, with passionate undertaking that their whole nation would be united, to a man, in any enterprise for his service. And now, from the time his majesty came to Hampton Court, they came to him with as much presumption as if they had carried him to Edinburgh; which was the more notorious, and was thought to signify the more, because their persons were known to be most odious to all the great officers in the army, and to those who now governed in the parliament. Here the foundation of that engagement was laid, which was endeavoured to be performed the next year ensuing, and which the Scots themselves then communicated to the marquis of Ormond, the lord Capel, and other trusty persons; as if there was nothing else intended in it than a full vindication of all his majesty's rights and interest.

When the army had thus subdued all opposition, and the parliament and they seemed all of a piece, and the refractory humours of the city seemed to be suppressed, and totally tamed, the army seemed less regardful of the king than they had been; the chief officers came rarely to Hampton Court, nor had they the same countenances towards Ashburnham and Berkley, as they used to have; they were not at leisure to speak with them, and when they did, asked captious questions, and gave answers themselves of no signification. The agitators, and council of officers, sent some propositions to the

king, as ruinous to the church and destructive to the regal power, as had been yet made by the parliament; and, in some respects, much worse, and more dishonourable; and said, "if his majesty "would consent thereunto, they would apply them-"selves to the parliament, and do the best they "could to persuade them to be of the same "opinion." But his majesty rejected them with more than usual indignation, not without some reproaches upon the officers, for having deluded him, and having prevailed in all their own designs, by making the world believe that they intended his majesty's restoration and settlement, upon better conditions than the parliament was willing to admit. By this manner of resentment, the army took itself to be disobliged, and used another language in their discourse of the king than they had, for some months, used to do; and such officers who had formerly served the king, and had been civilly treated and sheltered in the quarters of the army, were now driven from thence. And they who had been kind to them, withdrew themselves from their acquaintance; and the sequestrations of all the estates of the cavaliers, which had been intermitted, were revived with as much rigour as ever had been before practised, and the declared delinquents racked to as high compositions; which if they refused to make, their whole estates were taken from them, and their persons exposed to affronts, and insecurity; but this was imputed to the prevalence of the presbyterian humour in the parliament against the judgment of the army: and it is very true, that though the parliament was so far subdued, that it no more found fault with what the

army did, nor complained that it meddled in determining what settlement should be made in the government; yet, in all their own acts and proceedings, they prosecuted a presbyterian settlement as earnestly as they could. The covenant was pressed in all places, and the anabaptists and other sects, which begun to abound, were punished, restrained, and discountenanced; which the army liked not, as a violation of the liberty of tender consciences; which, they pretended, was as much the original of the quarrel, as any other grievance whatsoever.

[In this year, 1647,] they had made a visitation of the university of Oxford; in which the earl of Pembroke had been contented to be employed as chancellor of the university, who had taken an oath to defend the rights and privileges of the university: notwithstanding which, out of the extreme weakness of his understanding, and the miserable compliance of his nature, he suffered himself to be made a property in joining with Brent, Pryn, and two or three other presbyterian ministers, as commissioners for the parliament to reform the discipline and erroneous doctrine of that famous university, by the rule of the covenant; which was the standard of all men's learning, and ability to govern; all persons of what quality soever being required to subscribe that test; which the whole body of the university was so far from submitting to, that they met in their convocation, and, to their eternal renown, (being at the same time under a strict and strong garrison, put over them by the parliament; the king in prison; and all their hopes desperate,) passed a public act, and declaration

against the covenant, with such invincible arguments of the illegality, wickedness, and perjury contained in it, that no man of the contrary opinion, nor the assembly of the divines, (which then sat at Westminster, forming a new catechism, and scheme of religion,) ever ventured to make any answer to it; nor is it indeed to be answered, but must remain to the world's end, as a monument of the learning, courage, and loyalty, of that excellent place, against the highest malice and tyranny that was ever exercised in or over any nation; and which those famous commissioners only answered by expelling all those who refused to submit to their jurisdiction, or to take the covenant; which was, upon the matter, the whole university; scarce one governor and master of college or hall, and an incredible small number of the fellows, or scholars, submitting to either: whereupon that desolation being made, they placed in their rooms the most notorious factious presbyterians, in the government of the several colleges or halls; and such other of the same leaven in the fellowships, and scholars' places, of those whom they had expelled, without any regard to the statutes of the several founders, and the incapacities that were declared by those. The omnipotence of an ordinance of parliament confirmed all that was this way done; and there was no farther contending against it.

It might reasonably be concluded that this wild and barbarous depopulation would even extirpate all that learning, religion, and loyalty, which had so eminently flourished there; and that the succeeding ill husbandry, and unskilful cultivation, would have made it fruitful only in ignorance, pro-

fanation, atheism, and rebellion; but, by God's wonderful blessing, the goodness and richness of that soil could not be made barren by all that stupidity and negligence. It choked the weeds, and would not suffer the poisonous seeds, which were sown with industry enough, to spring up; but after several tyrannical governments, mutually succeeding each other, and with the same malice and perverseness endeavouring to extinguish all good literature and allegiance, it yielded a harvest of extraordinary good and sound knowledge in all parts of learning; and many who were wickedly introduced applied themselves to the study of good learning, and the practice of virtue, and had inclination to that duty and obedience they had never been taught; so that when it pleased God to bring the king [Charles the Second] back to his throne, he found that university (not to undervalue the other, which had nobly likewise rejected the ill infusions which had been industriously poured into it) abounding in excellent learning, and devoted to duty and obedience, little inferior to what it was before its desolation; which was a lively instance of God's mercy, and purpose, for ever so to provide for his church, that the gates of hell shall never prevail against it; which were never opened wider, nor with more malice, than in that time.

These kinds of proceedings in all places, blasted all the king's hopes, and deprived him of all the rest and quiet he had for some time enjoyed; nor could he devise any remedy. He was weary of depending upon the army, but neither knew how to get from them, nor whither else to resort for help. The officers of those guards which were assigned

to attend his person, and who had behaved themselves with good manners, and duty towards him, and very civilly towards those of his party who had used to wait upon his majesty, begun now to murmur at so great resort to him, and to use many, who came, rudely; and not to suffer them to go into the room where the king was; or, which was worse, put them out when they were there; and when his majesty seemed to take notice and be troubled at it, they appeared not to be concerned, nor answered him with that duty they had used to do. They affronted the Scottish commissioners very notably, and would not suffer them to speak with the king; which caused an expostulation from the parliament; which removed the obstruction for the future, but procured no satisfaction for the injury they had received, nor made the same officers more civil towards their persons. Ashburnham and Berkley received many advertisements from some officers with whom they had most conversed, and who would have been glad that the king might have been restored by the army for the preferments which they expected might fall to their share, "that Cromwell and Ireton re-"solved never to trust the king, or to do any thing "towards his restoration;" and they two steered the whole body; and therefore they advised, "that some way might be found to remove his "majesty out of their hands." Major Huntington, one of the best officers they had, and major to Cromwell's own regiment of horse, upon whom he relied in any enterprise of importance more than upon any man, had been employed by him to the king, to say those things from him which had given

the king the most confidence, and was much more than he had ever said to Ashburnham; and the major did really believe that he had meant all he said, and the king had a good opinion of the integrity of the major, upon the testimony he had received from some he knew had no mind to deceive his majesty; and the man merited the testimony they gave him. He, when he observed Cromwell to grow colder in his expressions for the king than he had formerly been, expostulated with him in very sharp terms, for "abusing him, and "making him the instrument to cozen the king;" and, though the other endeavoured to persuade him that all should be well, he informed his majesty of all he had observed; and told him, "that Crom-"well was a villain, and would destroy him if he "were not prevented;" and, in a short time after, he gave up his commission, and would serve no longer in the army. Cromwell himself expostulated with Mr. Ashburnham, and complained "that "the king could not be trusted; and that he had "no affection or confidence in the army, but was "jealous of them, and of all the officers: that he "had intrigues in the parliament, and treaties with "the presbyterians of the city, to raise new "troubles; that he had a treaty concluded with "the Scottish commissioners to engage the nation "again in blood; and therefore he would not be "answerable if any thing fell out amiss, and con-"trary to expectation;" and that was the reason, besides the old animosity, that had drawn on the affront, which the commissioners had complained of. What that treaty was, and what it produced, will be mentioned in a more proper time.

There was at this time a new faction grown up in the army, which were either by their own denomination, or with their own consent, called *levellers;* who spoke insolently and confidently against the king and parliament, and the great officers of the army; and professed as great malice against all the lords, as against the king; and declared, "that all degrees of men should be levelled, "and an equality should be established, both in "titles and estates, throughout the kingdoms." Whether the raising this spirit was a piece of Cromwell's ordinary witchcraft, in order to some of his designs, or whether it grew amongst those tares which had been sowed in that confusion, certain it is, it gave him real trouble at last, (which must be set down hereafter;) but the present use he made of it was, that, upon the licentious discourse of that kind, which some soldiers upon the guard usually made, the guard upon the king's person was doubled; a restraint put upon the great resort of people who came to see the king; and all pretended to be for his security, and to prevent any violence that might be attempted upon his life; which they seemed to apprehend, and detest. In the mean time, they neither hindered his majesty from riding abroad to take the air, nor from doing any thing he had a mind to, nor restrained those who waited upon him in his bedchamber, nor his chaplains from performing their functions; though towards all these there was less civility exercised than had been; and the guards which waited nearest were more rude, and made more noise at unseasonable hours than they had been accustomed to do; the captain who com-

manded them, colonel Whaley, being a man of a rough and brutal temper, who had offered great violence to his nature, when he appeared to exercise any civility and good manners. The king, every day, received little billets or letters, secretly conveyed to him without any name, which advertised him of wicked designs upon his life, and some of them advised him to make an escape, and repair secretly into the city, where he should be safe; some letters directing him to such an alderman's house; all which his majesty looked upon as artifice to lead him into some straits, from whence he should not easily explicate himself; and yet many who repaired to him brought the same advice from men of unquestionable sincerity, by what reason soever they were swayed.

The king found himself in great perplexity, from what he discerned, and observed himself, as well as what he heard from others; but what use to make of the one or the other, was very hard to resolve: he did really believe that their malice was at the height, and that they did design his murder, but knew not which was a probable way to prevent it. The making an escape, if it were not contrived with wonderful sagacity, would expose him to be assassinated, by pretended ignorance, and would be charged upon himself; and if he could avoid their guards, and get beyond them undiscovered, whither should he go? and what place would receive and defend him? The hope of the city seemed not to him to have a foundation of reason; they had been too late subdued to recover courage for such an adventure; and the army now was much more master of it than when they desponded.

There is reason to believe that he did resolve to transport himself beyond the seas, which had been no hard matter to have brought to pass; but with whom he consulted for the way of doing it, is not to this day discovered; they who were instrumental in his remove, pretending to know nothing of the resolution, or counsel. But, one morning, [being the eleventh of November,] the king having, the night before, pretended some indisposition, and that he would go to his rest, they who went into his chamber, found that he was not there, nor had been in his bed that night. There were two or three letters found upon his table, writ all with his own hand, one to the parliament, another to the general; in which he declared "the reason of his "remove to be, an apprehension that some despe-"rate persons had a design to assassinate him; "and therefore he had withdrawn himself with a "purpose of remaining concealed, until the parlia-"ment had agreed upon such propositions as "should be fit for him to consent to; and he "would then appear, and willingly consent to any "thing that should be for the peace and happiness "of the kingdom." There were discovered the treading of horses at a back door of the garden into which his majesty had a passage out of his chamber; and it is true that way he went, having appointed his horse to be there ready at an hour, and sir John Berkley, Ashburnham, and Legg, to wait upon him, the two last being of his bedcham-ber. Ashburnham alone seemed to know what they were to do, the other two having received only orders to attend. When they were free from the apprehension of the guards, and the horse

quarters, they rode towards the [south-]west, and towards that part of Hampshire which led to the New Forest. The king asked Ashburnham, where the ship lay? which made the other two conclude that the king resolved to transport himself. After they had made some stay in that part next the sea, and Ashburnham had been some time absent, he returned without any news of the ship; with which the king seemed troubled. Upon this disappointment, the king thought it best, for avoiding all highways, to go to Titchfield, a noble seat of the earl of Southampton's, (who was not there,) but inhabited by the old lady his mother with a small family, which made the retreat the more convenient: there his majesty alighted, and would speak with the lady; to whom he made no scruple of communicating himself, well knowing her to be a lady of that honour and spirit, that she was superior to all kind of temptation. There he refreshed himself, and consulted with his three servants, what he should next do, since there was neither ship ready, nor could they presume that they could remain long there undiscovered.

In this debate, the Isle of Wight came to be mentioned (as they say) by Ashburnham, as a place where his majesty might securely repose himself, until he thought fit to inform the parliament where he was. Colonel Hammond was governor there, an officer of the army, and of nearest trust with Cromwell, having by his advice been married to a daughter of John Hambden, whose memory he always adored; yet, by some fatal mistake, this man was thought a person of honour and generosity enough to trust the king's person to, and

Ashburnham and Berkley were sent to him with orders, " first to be sure that the man would faith-
" fully promise not to deliver his majesty up,
" though the parliament or army should require
" him; but to give him his liberty to shift for him-
" self, if he were not able to defend him: and
" except he would make that promise, they should
" not let him know where his majesty was, but
" should return presently to him." With this commission they two crossed the water to the Isle of Wight, the king in the mean time reposing himself at Titchfield. The next day they found colonel Hammond, who was known to them both, who had conversation with him in the army, when the king was well treated there, (and their persons had been very civilly treated by most of the officers, who thought themselves qualified sufficiently for court preferments.) They told him, " that the king was
" withdrawn from the army;" of which he seemed to have had no notice, and to be very much surprised with it. They then said, " that the king
" had so good an opinion of him, knowing him to
" be a gentleman, and for his relation to Dr. Ham-
" mond, (whose nephew he was,) that he would
" trust his person with him, and would from thence
" write to the parliament, if he would promise that
" if his message had not that effect which he hoped
" it would have, he would leave him to himself to
" go whither he thought fit, and would not deliver
" him to the parliament, or army, if they should
" require it." His answer was, " that he would
" pay all the duty and service to his majesty that
" was in his power; and, if he pleased to come
" thither, he would receive and entertain him as

" well as he could; but that he was an inferior " officer, and must obey his superiors in whatso- " ever they thought fit to command him:" with which when he saw they were not satisfied, he asked, " where the king was?" to which they made no other answer, " but that they would acquaint " his majesty with his answer, and, if he were sa- " tisfied with it, they would return to him again." He demanded " that Mr. Ashburnham would stay " with him, and that the other might go to the " king;" which Mr. Ashburnham refused to do.

After some time spent in debate, in which he made many expressions of his desire to do any service to his majesty, they were contented that he should go with them; and Ashburnham said, " he " would conduct him to the place where the king " was;" and so, he commanding three or four servants or soldiers to wait on him, they went together to Titchfield; and, the other staying below, Ashburnham went up to the king's chamber. When he had acquainted him with all that had passed, and that Hammond was in the house, his majesty broke out in a passionate exclamation, and said, " O Jack, " thou hast undone me!" with which the other falling into a great passion of weeping, offered to go down, and to kill Hammond: to which his majesty would not consent; and, after some pausing and deliberation, sent for him up, and endeavoured to persuade him to make the same promise, which had before been proposed: to which he made the same answer he had done, but with many professions of doing all the offices he could for his majesty; and seemed to believe that the army would do well for him. The king believed that there was now no

possible way to get from him, he having the command of the country, and could call in what help he would; and so went with him into the Isle of Wight, and was lodged at Carisbrook-castle, with all demonstration of respect and duty.

It never appeared afterwards that the king was maliciously betrayed to this unhappy peregrination, by the treachery and practice of those he trusted; and his majesty himself never entertained the least jealousy, or suspicion of it: yet the whole design appeared to be so weakly contrived, the not being sure of a ship, if the resolution were fixed for embarking, which was never manifest, the making choice of the Isle of Wight, and of Hammond to be trusted, since nothing fell out which was not to be reasonably foreseen and expected, and the bringing him to Titchfield, without the permission of the king, if not directly contrary to it, seemed to be all so far from a rational design and conduct, that most men did believe there was treason in the contrivance, or that his majesty intrusted those who were grossly imposed upon and deceived by his greatest enemies. Legg had had so general a reputation of integrity, and fidelity to his master, that he never fell under the least imputation or reproach with any man: he was a very punctual and steady observer of the orders he received, but no contriver of them; and though he had in truth a better judgment and understanding than either of the other two, his modesty and diffidence of himself never suffered him to contrive bold counsels. Berkley was less known among those persons of honour and quality who had followed the king, being in a very private station before the war, and his post in it being in

the farthest corner of the kingdom, and not much spoken of till the end of it, when he was not beholden to reports; his ambition and vanity were well known to be predominant in him, and that he had great confidence in himself, and did not delight to converse with those who had not; but he never fell under any blemish of disloyalty, and he took care to publish that this enterprise of the king's was so totally without his privity, that he was required to attend on horseback at such an hour, and had not the least intimation of his majesty's purpose what he intended to do. Another particular, which was acknowledged by Hammond, did him much credit, that when Hammond demanded that Ashburnham should remain with him whilst the other went to the king, which Ashburnham refused to do, Berkley did offer himself to remain with him whilst Ashburnham should attend his majesty; so that the whole weight of the prejudice and reproach was cast upon Ashburnham; who was known to have so great an interest in the affections of his master, and so great an influence upon his counsels and resolutions, that he could not be ignorant of any thing that moved him.

The not having a ship ready, if it were intended, was unexcusable; and the putting the king into Hammond's hands without his leave, could never be wiped out. There were some who said, that Ashburnham resolved that the king should go to the Isle of Wight, before he left Hampton Court; and the lord Langdale often said, "that being in "Mr. Ashburnham's chamber at that time, he had "the curiosity, whilst the other went out of the "room, to look upon a paper that lay upon the

" table; in which was writ, that it would be best " for the king to withdraw from the army, where " he was in such danger; and that the Isle of " Wight would be a good retreat, where colonel " Hammond commanded; who was a very honest " man." And this was some days before his majesty removed. And then it was observed, that Hammond himself left the army but two or three days before the king's remove, and went to the Isle of Wight at a season when there was no visible occasion to draw him thither, and when the agitators in the army were at highest; and it was looked upon with the more wonder, because Ashburnham was not afterwards called in question for being instrumental in the king's going away, but lived unquestioned long after in the sight of the parliament, and in conversation with some of the officers of the army who had most deceived him; and, which was more censured than all the rest, that after the murder of the king he compounded, as was reported, at an easy rate, and lived at ease, and grew rich, for many years together without interruption.

On the other hand, he preserved his reputation and credit with the most eminent of the king's party; and his remaining in England was upon the marriage of a lady by whom he had a great fortune, and many conveniences; which would have been seized by his leaving the kingdom; and he did send over to the king, and had leave to stay there; and sometimes supplied the king with considerable sums of money. Afterwards he was committed to the Tower by Cromwell, where he remained till his death; and the king was known to have had, to the last, a clear opinion of his affection and integrity;

and when the king [Charles the Second] returned, most of those of greatest reputation, as the marquis of Hertford, and the earl of Southampton, gave him a good testimony; yet, after his majesty's return, the old discourses were revived, and major Huntington did affirm, "that Mr. Ashburnham did "intend the king should go to the Isle of Wight, "before he left Hampton Court." And many who did not believe him to be corrupted, did still think that Cromwell and Ireton had overwitted him, and persuaded him, upon great promises, that it should prove for his majesty's benefit, and that they should the sooner do his business, that he should withdraw from the army, and put himself into Hammond's hands; for if in truth transportation had been thought of, it is hard to believe that a ship would not have been provided.

Sir John Berkley, who, shortly after the king's being in the Isle of Wight, had transported himself into France, and remained still with the duke of York to the time of his majesty's [king Charles the Second's] return, and Mr. Ashburnham, who continued in England, and so the more liable to reproach, had been so solicitous to wipe off the aspersions which were cast upon them jointly, that they had no care to preserve the reputation of a joint innocence; but whilst each endeavoured to clear himself, he objected or imputed somewhat to the other, that made him liable to just censure; and, in this contention, their friends mentioned their several discourses so loudly, and so passionately for the credit and reputation of him whom they loved best, that they contracted a very avowed animosity against each other; insomuch as it was

generally believed upon the king's return, that they would, with some fierceness, have expostulated with each other in that way which angry men choose to determine the right, or that both of them would have desired the king to have caused the whole to be so strictly examined, that the world might have discerned, where the faults or oversights had been, if no worse could have been charged upon them: but they applied themselves to neither of those expedients, and lived only as men who took no delight in each other's conversation, and who did not desire to cherish any familiarity together. And the king, who was satisfied that there had been no treasonable contrivance, (from which his father had absolved them,) did not think it fit, upon such a subject, to make strict inquisition into inadvertencies, indiscretions, and presumptions, which could not have been punished proportionally.

It is true that they both writ apologies, or narrations of all that had passed in that affair, which they made not public, but gave in writing to such of their friends in whose opinions they most desired to be absolved, without any inclination that one should see what the other had writ; in which, though there were several reflections upon each other, and differences in occurrences of less moment, there was nothing in either that seemed to doubt of the integrity of the other; nor any clear relation of any probable inducement that prevailed with the king to undertake that journey. I have read both their relations, and conferred with both of them at large, to discover in truth what the motives might be which led to so fatal an end; and, if I were obliged to deliver my own opinion, I should declare

that neither of them were, in any degree, corrupted in their loyalty or affection to the king, or suborned to gratify any persons with a disservice to their master. They were both of them great opiniators, yet irresolute, and easy to be shaken by any thing they had not thought of before; and exceedingly undervalued each other's understanding; but, as it usually falls out in men of that kind of composition and talent, they were both disposed to communicate more freely with, and, consequently, to be advised by new acquaintance, and men they had lately begun to know, than old friends, and such whose judgments they could not but esteem; who they had no mind should go sharers with them in the merit of any notable service which they thought themselves able to bring to pass. Then, in the whole managery of the king's business, from the time that they came into the army, they never conversed with the same persons; but governed themselves by what they received from those whose correspondence they had chosen. Ashburnham seemed wholly to depend upon Cromwell and Ireton; and rather upon what they said to others than to himself. For besides outward civilities, which they both exercised towards him more than to other men, they seldom held private discourse with him, persuading him "that it "was better for both their ends, in respect of the "jealousy the parliament had of them, that they "should understand each other's mind, as to the "transaction of any particulars, from third persons "mutually intrusted between them, than from fre-"quent consultations together;" and so sir Edward Ford, who had married Ireton's sister, but had been himself an officer in the king's army from the begin-

ning of the war, and a gentleman of good meaning, though not able to fathom the reserved and dark designs of his brother-in-law, was trusted to pass between them, with some other officers of the army, who had given Ashburnham some reason to believe that they had honest purposes.

Berkley had not found that respect, from Cromwell and Ireton, that he expected; at least discerned it to be greater towards Ashburnham, than it was to him; which he thought evidence enough of a defect of judgment in them; and therefore had applied himself to others, who had not so great names, but greater interest, as he thought, in the soldiers. His chief confidence was in Dr. Staines, who, though a doctor in physic, was quarter master general of the army; and one Watson, who was scout master general of the army; both of the council of war, both in good credit with Cromwell, and both notable fanatics, and professed enemies to the Scots and the presbyterians, and, no doubt, were both permitted and instructed to caress sir John Berkley, and, by admiring his wisdom and conduct, to oblige him to depend on theirs; and dissimulation had so great and supreme an influence on the hearts and spirits of all those who were trusted and employed by Cromwell, that no man was safe in their company, but he who resolved before, not to believe one word they said. These two persons knew well how to humour sir John Berkley, who believed them the more, because they seemed very much to blame Ireton's stubbornness towards the king, and to fear that he often prevailed upon Cromwell against his own inclinations: they informed him of many particulars which

passed in the council of officers, and sometimes of advice from Cromwell, that was clean contrary to what the king received by Ashburnham as his opinion, and which was found afterwards to be true, (as it may be the other was too,) which exceedingly confirmed sir John in the good opinion he had of his two friends. They were the first who positively advertised the king by him, that Cromwell would never do him service; and the first who seemed to apprehend that the king's person was in danger, and that there was some secret design upon his life.

I do not believe that sir John Berkley knew any thing of the king's purpose in his intended escape, or whither he resolved to go, or, indeed, more of it than that he resolved at such an hour, and in such a place, to take horse, and was himself required to attend him; nor do I, in truth, think that the king himself, when he took horse, resolved whither to go. Some think he meant to go into the city; others, that he intended for Jersey; and that was the ground of the question to Mr. Ashburnham, "Where is the ship?" Certain it is that the king never thought of going to the Isle of Wight. I am not sure that Mr. Ashburnham, who had not yet given over all hope of the chief officers of the army, and believed the alterations, which had fallen out, proceeded from the barbarity of the agitators, and the levelling party, had not the Isle of Wight in his view from the beginning, that is, from the time his majesty thought it necessary to make an escape from the army. It had been a difficult task to go about to dissuade the king from an apprehension of his own safety, when

it was much more natural to fear an assassination, than to apprehend any thing that they did afterwards do. Mr. Ashburnham had so great a detestation of the Scots, that he expected no good from their fraternity, the presbyterians of the city; and did really believe that if his majesty should put himself into their hands, as was advised by many, with a purpose that he should be there concealed, till some favourable conjuncture should offer itself, (for nobody imagined that, upon his arrival there, the city would have declared for him, and have entered into a contest with that army which had so lately subdued them,) I say he had no confidence in the security of such an escape, and very earnestly dissuaded his master from entertaining the thought of it; and this opinion of his was universally known, and, as hath been said before, was an ingredient into the composition of that civility and kindness the officers of the army had for him. They did, to him, frequently lament the levelling spirit that was gotten into the soldiers, which they foresaw would in the future be as inconvenient and mischievous to themselves, as it was, for the present, dangerous to the person of the king; which they seemed wonderfully to apprehend, and protested "that they knew not how to apply any "remedy to it, whilst his majesty was in the army; "but that they would quickly correct or subdue it, "if the king were at any distance from them;" and it is not impossible, that, in such discourses, somebody who was trusted by them, if not one of themselves, might mention the Isle of Wight as a good place to retire to, and colonel Hammond as a man of good intentions; the minutes of which dis-

course Mr. Ashburnham might keep by him: for the lord Langdale's discourse of such a paper, which he himself saw, and read, cannot be thought by me to be a mere fiction; to which, besides that he was a person of unblemished honour and veracity, he had not any temptation: yet Mr. Ashburnham did constantly deny that he ever saw any such paper, or had any thought of the Isle of Wight when the king left Hampton Court, and he never gave cause, in the subsequent actions of his life, to have his fidelity suspected. And it is probable, that Cromwell, who many years afterwards committed him to the Tower, and did hate him, and desired to have taken his life, would have been glad to have blasted his reputation, by declaring that he had carried his master to the Isle of Wight, without his privity, upon his own presumption; which, how well soever intended, must have been looked upon by all men as such a transcendent crime, as must have deprived him of all compassion for the worst that could befall him.

This sudden unexpected absence of the king made a great impression upon the minds of all men, every man fancying that his majesty would do that which he wished he would do. The presbyterians imagined that he lay concealed in the city, (which they unreasonably thought he might easily do,) and would expect a proper conjuncture, upon a new rupture between the parliament and the army, and the many factions in the army, which every day appeared, to discover himself. The cavaliers hoped that he would transport himself into the parts beyond the seas, and quietly attend there those alterations at home, which might probably

in a short time invite his return. The army was not without this apprehension, as imagining it the worst that could fall out to their purposes.

The parliament, that is, that part of it that was devoted to the army, was most frighted with the imagination that the king was in the city, and would lurk there until some conspiracy should be ripe, and all his party should be present in London to second it; and therefore they no sooner heard that he was gone from Hampton Court, than they passed an ordinance of both houses, by which they declared, "that it should be confiscation of estate, "and loss of life, to any man who presumed to "harbour and conceal the king's person in his "house, without revealing, and making it known "to the parliament:" which, without doubt, would have terrified them all in such a manner, that if he had been in truth amongst them, he would quickly have been discovered, and given up. They caused some of the most notorious presbyterians' houses to be searched, as if they had been sure he had been there; and sent posts to all ports of the kingdom, "that they might be shut, and no person "be suffered to embark, lest the king, in disguise, "transport himself;" and a proclamation was issued out, "for the banishing all persons who had ever "borne arms for the king, out of London, or any "place within twenty miles of it;" and all persons of that kind, who, upon strict search, were found, were apprehended, and put into several prisons with all the circumstances of severity and rigour. But all these doubts were quickly cleared, and within two days Cromwell informed the house of commons, "that he had received letters from

" colonel Hammond, of all the manner of the king's " coming to the Isle of Wight, and the company " that came with him; that he remained there in " the castle of Carisbrook, till the pleasure of the " parliament should be known." He assured them, " that colonel Hammond was so honest a man, and " so much devoted to their service, that they need " have no jealousy that he might be corrupted by " any body;" and all this relation he made with so unusual a gaiety, that all men concluded that the king was where he wished he should be. And from hence all those discourses, which are mentioned before to have fallen out after, took their original too probably.

And now the parliament maintained no farther contests with the army, but tamely submitted to whatsoever they proposed; the presbyterians in both houses, and in the city, being in a terrible agony, that some close correspondences they had held with the king during his abode at Hampton Court, would be discovered; and therefore would give no farther occasion of jealousy by any contradictions, leaving it to their clergy to keep the fire burning in the hearts of the people by their pulpit-inflammations; and they stoutly discharged their trust.

But Cromwell had more cause to fear a fire in his own quarters, and that he had raised a spirit in the army which would not easily be quieted again. The agitators, who were first formed by him to oppose the parliament, and to resist the destructive doom of their disbanding, and likewise to prevent any inconvenience, or mischief, that might result from the drowsy, dull presbyterian humour of

Fairfax; who wished nothing that Cromwell did, and yet contributed to bring it all to pass: these agitators had hitherto transcribed faithfully all the copies he had given them, and offered such advices to the parliament, and insisted upon such expostulations and demands, as were necessary, whilst there was either any purpose to treat with the king, or any reason to flatter his party. But now the king was gone from the army, and in such a place as the army could have no recourse to him, and that the parliament was become of so soft a temper, that the party of the army that was in it could make all necessary impression upon them, he desired to restrain the agitators [from] that liberty which they had so long enjoyed, and to keep them within stricter rules of obedience to their superiors, and to hinder their future meetings, and consultations concerning the settling the government of the kingdom; which, he thought, ought now to be solely left to the parliament; whose authority, for the present, he thought best to uphold, and by it to establish all that was to be done. But the agitators would not be so dismissed from state affairs, of which they had so pleasant a relish; nor be at the mercy of the parliament, which they had so much provoked; and therefore, when they were admitted no more to consultations with their officers, they continued their meetings without them; and thought there was as great need to reform their officers, as any part of the church or state. They entered into new associations, and made many propositions to their officers, and to the parliament, to introduce an equality into all conditions, and a parity among all men; from whence they

had the appellation of *levellers*; which appeared a great party. They did not only meet against the express command of their officers, but drew very considerable parties of the army to rendezvous, without the order or privity of their superiors; and there persuaded them to enter into such engagements, as would in a short time have dissolved the government of the army, and absolved them from a dependence upon their general officers. The suppression of this license put Cromwell to the expense of all his cunning, dexterity, and courage; so that after he had cajoled the parliament, as if the preservation of their authority had been all he cared for and took to heart, and sent some false brothers to comply in the counsels of the conspirators, by that means having notice of their rendezvous, he was unexpectedly found with an ordinary guard at those meetings; and, with a marvellous vivacity, having asked some questions of those whom he observed most active, and receiving insolent answers, he knocked two or three of them in the head with his own hand, and then charged the rest with his troop; and took such a number of them as he thought fit; whereof he presently caused some to be hanged, and sent others to London for a more formal trial. By two or three such encounters, for the obstinacy continued long, he totally subdued that spirit in the army, though it continued and increased very much in the kingdom; and if it had not been encountered at that time with that rough and brisk temper of Cromwell, it would presently have produced all imaginable confusion in the parliament, army, and kingdom.

All opposition being thus suppressed, and quieted,

and Cromwell needing no other assistance to the carrying on his designs, than the present temper and inclination of the parliament, they sent a message to the king, shortly proposing to him, "that "he would forthwith grant his royal assent to four "acts of parliament; which they then sent to him." By one of them, he was to confess the war to have been raised by him against the parliament; and that he was guilty of all the blood that had been spilt. By another, he was totally to dissolve the government of the church by bishops, and to grant all the lands belonging to the church to such uses as they proposed; leaving the settling a future government in the place thereof to farther time and counsels. By a third, he was to grant, and settle the militia in the manner and in the persons proposed, reserving not so much power in himself as any subject was capable of. In the last place, he was to sacrifice all those, who had served or adhered to him, to the mercy of the parliament.

And the persons, who were sent with these four bills, had liberty given to expect the king's answer only four days, and were then required to return to the parliament. With the commissioners of parliament there came likewise the commissioners of Scotland, who were present when the four bills and other propositions were delivered and read to the king, and they, the very next day, desired an audience; and, with much formality and confidence, delivered a declaration, and protestation on the behalf of the kingdom of Scotland against those bills and propositions. They said, "they were so "prejudicial to religion, the crown, and the union "and interest of the kingdoms, and so far different

" from the former proceedings and engagements " between the two kingdoms, that they could not " concur therein; and therefore, in the name of " the whole kingdom of Scotland, did declare their " dissent." The king had received advertisement, that as soon as he should refuse to consent to the bills, he should presently be made a close prisoner, and all his servants should be removed from him; upon which, and because the commissioners had no power to treat with him, but were only to receive his positive answer, he resolved that his answer should not be known till it was delivered to the parliament; and that, in the mean time, he would endeavour to make his escape from thence, before new orders could be sent from Westminster: so when the commissioners came to receive his answer, he gave it to them sealed. The earl of Denbigh, who was the chief of the commissioners, and a person very ungrateful to the king, told him, " that though they had no authority to treat with " him, or to do any thing but to receive his answer, " yet they were not to be looked upon as common " messengers, and to carry back an answer that " they had not seen:" and, upon the matter, refused to receive it; and said, " they would re- " turn without any, except they might see what " they carried."

His majesty conceived that their return without his answer would be attended with the worst consequences; and therefore he told them, " that he " had some reason for having offered to deliver it " to them in that manner; but if they would give " him their words, that the communicating it to " them should be attended with no prejudice to

" him, he would open it, and cause it to be read;" which they readily undertook, (as in truth they knew no reason to suspect it,) and thereupon he opened it, and gave it one to read. The answer was, " that his majesty had always thought it a " matter of great difficulty to comply in such a " manner with all engaged interests, that a firm " and lasting peace might ensue; in which opinion " he was now confirmed, since the commissioners " for Scotland do solemnly protest against the " several bills and propositions, which the two " houses of parliament had presented to him for " his assent; so that it was not possible for him to " give such an answer as might be the foundation " of a hopeful peace." He gave them many unanswerable reasons, " why he could not pass the four " bills as they were offered to him; which did not " only divest him of all sovereignty, and [leave " him] without any possibility of recovering it to " him or his successors, but opened a door for all " intolerable oppressions upon his subjects, he granting such an arbitrary and illimited power to the " two houses." He told them, " that neither the " desire of being freed from that tedious and " irksome condition of life, which he had so long " suffered, nor the apprehension of any thing that " might befall him, should ever prevail with him to " consent to any one act, till the conditions of the " whole peace should be concluded; and then that " he would be ready to give all just and reasonable " satisfaction, in all particulars; and for the adjusting of all this, he knew no way but a personal " treaty, (and therefore very earnestly desired the " two houses to consent to it,) to be either at

" London, or any other place they would rather " choose." As soon as this answer, or to the same effect, was read, he delivered it to the commissioners; who no sooner received it than they kissed his hand, and departed for Westminster.

The commissioners were no sooner gone than Hammond caused all the king's servants, who till then had all liberty to be with him, to be immediately put out of the castle; and forbad any of them to repair thither any more; and appointed a strong guard to restrain any body from going to the king, if they should endeavour it. This exceedingly troubled and surprised him, being an absolute disappointment of all the hope he had left. He told Hammond, " that it was not suitable to his " engagement, and that it did not become a man " of honour or honesty to treat him so, who had " so freely put himself into his hands. He asked " him, whether the commissioners were acquainted " with his purpose to proceed in this manner?" To which he answered, " that they were not; but " that he had an order from the parliament to do " as he had done; and that he saw plainly by " his answer to the propositions, that he acted by " other counsels than stood with the good of the " kingdom."

This insolent and imperious proceeding put the whole island (which was generally inhabited by a people always well affected to the crown) into a high mutiny. They said, " they would not endure " to see their king so used, and made a prisoner." There was at that time there one captain Burly, who was of a good family in the island. He had been a captain of one of the king's ships, and was

put out of his command when the fleet rebelled against the king; and then he put himself into the king's army, where he continued an officer of good account to the end of the war, and was in one of the king's armies general of the ordnance. When the war was at an end, he repaired into his own country, the Isle of Wight; where many of his family still lived in good reputation. This gentleman chanced to be at Newport, the chief town in the island, when the king was thus treated, and when the people seemed generally to resent it with so much indignation; and was so much transported with the same fury, being a man of more courage than of prudence and circumspection, that he caused a drum to be presently beaten, and put himself at the head of the people who flocked together, and cried, "For God, the king, and the people;" and said, "he would lead them to the castle, and rescue "the king from his captivity." The attempt was presently discerned to be irrational and impossible; and by the great diligence and activity of the king's servants, who had been put out of the castle, the people were quieted, and all men resorted to their own houses; but the poor gentleman paid dear for his ill advised and precipitate loyalty. For Hammond caused him presently to be made prisoner; and the parliament, without delay, sent down a commission of *Oyer* and *Terminer;* in which an infamous judge, Wild, whom they had made chief baron of the exchequer for such services, presided; who caused poor Burly to be, with all formality, indicted of high treason for levying war against the king, and engaging the kingdom in a new war; of which the jury they had brought

together, found him guilty; upon which their judge condemned him, and the honest man was forthwith hanged, drawn, and quartered, with all the circumstances of barbarity and cruelty; which struck a wonderful terror into all men, this being the first precedent of their having brought any man to a formal legal trial by the law to deprive him of his life, and make him guilty of high treason for adhering to the king; and it made a deeper impression upon the hearts of all men, than all the cruelties they had yet exercised by their courts of war; which, though they took away the lives of many innocent men, left their estates to their wives and children: but when they saw now, that they might be condemned of high treason before a sworn judge of the law for serving the king, by which their estates would be likewise confiscated, they thought they should be justified if they kept their hearts entire, without being involved by their actions in a capital transgression.

Upon the receipt of the king's answer, there appeared a new spirit and temper in the house of commons; hitherto, no man had mentioned the king's person without duty and respect, and only lamented "that he was misled by evil and wicked "counsellors; who being removed from him, he "might by the advice of his parliament govern "well enough." But now, upon the refusal to pass these bills, every man's mouth was opened against him with the utmost sauciness and license; each man striving to exceed the other in the impudence and bitterness of his invective. Cromwell declared, "that the king was a man of great parts, "and great understanding," (faculties they had

hitherto endeavoured to have him thought to be without,) " but that he was so great a dissembler, " and so false a man, that he was not to be trusted." And thereupon repeated many particulars, whilst he was in the army, that his majesty wished that such and such things might be done, which being done to gratify him, he was displeased, and complained of it: " That whilst he professed with all " solemnity that he referred himself wholly to the " parliament, and depended only upon their wisdom " and counsel for the settlement and composing " the distractions of the kingdom, he had, at the " same time, secret treaties with the Scottish com- " missioners, how he might embroil the nation in " a new war, and destroy the parliament." He concluded, " that they might no farther trouble " themselves with sending messages to him, or far- " ther propositions, but that they might enter upon " those counsels which were necessary towards the " settlement of the kingdom, without having far- " ther recourse to the king." Those of his party seconded this good advice with new reproaches upon the person of the king, charging him with such abominable actions, as had been never heard of, and could be only suggested from the malice of their own hearts; whilst men who had any modesty, and abhorred that way of proceeding, stood amazed and confounded at the manner and presumption of it, and without courage to give any notable opposition to their rage. So that, after several days spent in passionate debates to this purpose, they voted, " that they would make no more addresses " to the king, but proceed towards settling the " government, and providing for the peace of the

"kingdom, in such manner as they should judge "best for the benefit and liberty of the subject:" and a committee was appointed to prepare a declaration to inform and satisfy the people of this their resolution, and the grounds thereof, and to assure them, "that they had lawful authority to proceed "in this manner." In the mean time, the king, who had, from the time of his coming to the Isle of Wight, enjoyed the liberty of taking the air, and refreshing himself throughout the island, and was attended by such servants as he had appointed, or sent for, to come thither to him, to the time that he had refused to pass those bills, from thenceforth was no more suffered to go out of the castle beyond a little ill garden that belonged to it. And now, after this vote of the house of commons, that there should be no more addresses made to him, all his servants were removed, and a few new men, utterly unknown to his majesty, were deputed to be about his person to perform all those offices which they believed might be requisite, and of whose fidelity to themselves they were as well assured, as that they were without any reverence or affection for the king.

It is very true, that within few days after the king's withdrawing from Hampton Court, and after it was known that he was in the Isle of Wight, there was a meeting of the general officers of the army at Windsor, where Cromwell and Ireton were present, to consult what should be now done with the king. For, though Cromwell was weary of the agitators, and resolved to break their meetings, and though the parliament concurred in all he desired, yet his entire confidence was in the officers

of the army; who were they who swayed the parliament, and the army itself, to bring what he intended to pass. At this conference, the preliminaries whereof were always fastings and prayers, made at the very council by Cromwell or Ireton, or some other *inspired* person, as most of the officers were, it was resolved, " that the king should " be prosecuted for his life as a criminal person:" of which his majesty was advertised speedily by Watson, quarter master general of the army; who was present; and had pretended, from the first coming of the king to the army, to have a desire to serve him, and desired to be now thought to retain it; but the resolution was a great secret, of which the parliament had not the least intimation or jealousy; but was, as it had been, to be cozened by degrees to do what they never intended. Nor was his majesty easily persuaded to give credit to the information; but though he expected, and thought it very probable, that they would murder him, he did not believe they would attempt it with that formality, or let the people know their intentions. The approach they made towards it, was, their declaration, " that they would make no more " addresses to the king," that by an interregnum they might feel the pulse of the people, and discover how they would submit to another form of government; and yet all writs, and process of justice, and all commissions, still issued in the king's name without his consent or privity; and little other change or alteration, but that what was before done by the king himself, and by his immediate order, was now performed by the parliament; and, instead of acts of parliament, they made ordinances

of the two houses to serve all their occasions; which found the same obedience from the people.

This declaration of no more addresses contained a charge against the king of whatsoever had been done amiss from the beginning of his government, or before, not without a direct insinuation, as if "he had conspired with the duke of Buckingham "against the life of his father; the prejudice he "had brought upon the protestant religion in "foreign parts, by lending his ships to the king of "France, who employed them against Rochelle:" they renewed the remembrance and reproach of all those grievances which had been mentioned in their first remonstrance of the state of the kingdom, and repeated all the calumnies which had been contained in all their declarations before and after the war; which had been all so fully answered by his majesty, that the world was convinced of their rebellion and treason: they charged him with being "the cause of all the blood that had been "spilt, by his having made a war upon his par-"liament, and rejecting all overtures of peace "which had been made to him; and in all these "regards, they resolved to make no more address "to him, but, by their own authority, to provide "for the peace and welfare of the kingdom."

This declaration found much opposition in the house of commons, in respect of the particular reproaches they had now cast upon the person of the king, which they had heretofore, in their own published declarations to the people, charged upon the evil counsellors, and persons about him; and some persons had been sentenced, and condemned, for those very crimes which they now accused his

majesty of. But there was much more exception to their conclusion from those premises, that therefore they would address themselves no more to him; and John Maynard, a member of the house, and a lawyer of great eminence, who had too much complied and concurred with their irregular and unjust proceedings, after he had with great vehemence opposed and contradicted the most odious parts of their declaration, told them plainly, "that "by this resolution of making no more addresses to "the king, they did, as far as in them lay, dissolve "the parliament; and that, from the time of that "determination, he knew not with what security, in "point of law, they could meet together, or any "man join with them in their counsels: that it "was of the essence of parliament, that they should "upon all occasions repair to the king; and that "his majesty's refusal at any time to receive their "petitions, or to admit their addresses, had been "always held the highest breach of their privilege, "because it tended to their dissolution without "dissolving them; and therefore if they should "now, on their parts, determine that they would "receive no more messages from him, (which was "likewise a part of their declaration,) nor make "any more address to him, they did, upon "the matter, declare that they were no longer "a parliament: and then, how could the people "look upon them as such?" This argumentation being boldly pressed by a man of that learning and authority, who had very seldom not been believed, made a great impression upon all men who had not prostituted themselves to Cromwell and his party. But the other side meant not to maintain

their resolution by discourses, well knowing where their strength lay; and so still called for the question; which was carried by a plurality of voices, as they foresaw it would; very many persons who abhorred the determination, not having courage enough to provoke the powerful men by owning their dissent; others satisfying themselves with the resolution to withdraw themselves, and to bear no farther part in the counsels; which Maynard himself did, and came no more to the house in very many months, nor till there seemed to be such an alteration in the minds of men, that there would be a reversal of that monstrous determination; and many others did the same.

When this declaration was thus passed the commons, and by them sent to the house of peers for their concurrence, the manner or the matter was not thought of that importance as to need much debate; but, with as little formality as was possible, it had the concurrence of that house, and was immediately printed and published, and new orders sent to the Isle of Wight, for the more strict looking to and guarding the king, that he might not escape.

The publishing this declaration wrought very different effects in the minds of the people, from what they expected it would produce; and it appeared to be so publicly detested, that many who had served the parliament in several unwarrantable employments and commissions, from the beginning of the war, in the city and in the country, withdrew themselves from the service of the parliament; and much inveighed against it, for declining all the principles upon which they had engaged them.

Many private persons took upon them to publish answers to that odious declaration, that, the king himself being under so strict a restraint that he could make no answer, the people might not be poisoned with the belief of it. And the several answers of this kind wrought very much upon the people, who opened their mouths very loud against the parliament and the army; and the clamour was increased by the increase of taxes and impositions, which were raised by new ordinances of parliament upon the kingdom; and though they were so entirely possessed of the whole kingdom, and the forces and garrisons thereof, that they had no enemy to fear or apprehend, yet they disbanded no part of their army; and notwithstanding they raised incredible sums of money, upon the sale of the church and the crown lands; for which they found purchasers enough amongst their own party in the city, army, and country, and upon composition with delinquents, and the sale of their lands who refused, or could not be admitted, to compound, (which few refused to do who could be admitted, in regard that their estates were all under sequestration, and the rents thereof paid to the parliament, so that till they compounded they had nothing to support themselves, whereby they were driven into extreme wants and necessities, and were compelled to make their compositions, at how unreasonable rates soever, that they might thereby be enabled to sell some part, that they might preserve the rest, and their houses from being pulled down, and their woods from being wasted or spoiled;) notwithstanding all these vast receipts, which they ever pretended should ease the people of their

burden, and should suffice to pay the army their expenses at sea and land, their debts were so great, that they raised the public taxes; and, besides all customs and excise, they levied a monthly contribution of a hundred and fifty thousand pounds by a land tax throughout the kingdom; which was more than had been ever done before, and it being at a time when they had no enemy who contended with them, was an evidence that it would have no end, and that the army was still to be kept up, to make good the resolution they had taken, to have no more to do with the king; and that made the resolution generally the more odious. All this grew the more insupportable, by reason that, upon the publishing this last monstrous declaration, most of those persons of condition, who, as hath been said before, had been seduced to do them service throughout the kingdom, declined to appear longer in so detestable an employment; and now a more inferior sort of the common people succeeded in those employments, who thereby exercised so great insolence over those who were in quality above them, and who always had a power over them, that it was very grievous; and for this, let the circumstances be what they would, no redress could be ever obtained, all distinction of quality being renounced. They who were not above the condition of ordinary inferior constables, six or seven years before, were now the justices of peace, and sequestrators, and commissioners; who executed the commands of the parliament, in all the counties of the kingdom, with such rigour and tyranny, as was natural for such persons to use over and towards those upon whom they had

formerly looked at such a distance. But let their sufferings be never so great, and the murmur and discontent never so general, there was no shadow of hope by which they might discern any possible relief: so that they who had struggled as long as they were able, submitted patiently to the yoke, with the more satisfaction, in that they saw many of those who had been the principal contrivers of all the mischiefs to satisfy their own ambition, and that they might govern others, reduced to almost as ill a condition as themselves, at least to as little power, and authority, and security; whilst the whole government of the nation remained, upon the matter, wholly in their hands who in the beginning of the parliament were scarce ever heard of, or their names known but in the places where they inhabited.

The king being in this melancholic neglected condition, and the kingdom possessed by the new rulers, without control, in the new method of government, where every thing was done, and submitted to, which they propounded, they yet found that there was no foundation laid for their peace, and future security; that besides the general discontent of the nation, which for the present they did not fear, they were to expect new troubles from Ireland, and from Scotland; which would, in the progress, have an influence upon England.

In Ireland, (which they had totally neglected from the time of the differences and contests between the parliament and the army, and from the king's being in the army,) though they were possessed of Dublin, and, upon the matter, of the whole province of Munster, by the activity of the

lord Inchiquin, and the lord Broghill; yet the Irish rebels had very great forces, which covered all the other parts of the kingdom. But they had no kind of fears of the Irish, whom they vanquished as often as they saw, and never declined fighting upon any inequality of numbers: they had an apprehension of another enemy. The marquis of Ormond had often attended the king at Hampton Court, and had great resort to him, whilst he stayed in London, by all those who had served the king, and not less by those who were known to be unsatisfied with the proceedings both of the parliament and the army; and by the Scottish commissioners, who had frequently private meetings with him; insomuch as the officers of the army, who gave the first motion to all extravagant acts of power, had resolved to have apprehended and imprisoned him, as a man worthy of their fear, though they had nothing to charge him with; and by his articles, he had liberty to stay six months where he would in England, (which time was little more than half expired,) and then he might transport himself into what part he desired beyond the seas. The marquis had notice of this their purpose; and having conferred with his majesty as much as was necessary, upon a reasonable foresight of what was like to fall out, shortly after, or about the time that the king left Hampton Court, he in disguise, and without being attended by more than one servant, rid into Sussex; and, in an obscure and unguarded port or harbour, put himself on board a shallop, which safely transported him into Normandy; from whence he waited upon

the queen, and the prince of Wales, at Paris; to whom he could not but be very welcome.

At the same time, there were commissioners arrived from Ireland from the confederate catholics; who, after they had driven the king's authority from them, quickly found they needed it for their own preservation. The factions grew so great amongst the Irish themselves, and the pope's nuncio exercised his authority with so great tyranny and insolence, that all were weary of him; and found that the parliament, as soon as they should send more forces over, would easily, by reason of their divisions, reduce them into great straits and necessities. They therefore sent commissioners to the queen and prince to desire, "that, by their "favour, they might have the king's authority "again among them;" to which they promised, for the future, a ready obedience, with many acknowledgments of their former miscarriage and behaviour. It is very true that the marquis of Antrim, who was one of the commissioners, and was always inseparable from the highest ambition, (though without any qualifications for any great trust,) had entertained the hope, that by the queen's favour, who had too good an opinion of him, the government of Ireland should be committed to him, and his conduct; which none of the other commissioners thought of, nor had their eyes fixed on any man but the marquis of Ormond, in whom the king's authority was vested; for he remained still lieutenant of Ireland by the king's commission; and they had reason to believe that all the English protestants, who had formerly lived under his go-

vernment, (without a conjunction with whom, they well foresaw the Irish would not be able to defend or preserve themselves,) would return to the same obedience, as soon as he should return to receive it. The queen and the prince thought not of trusting any other in that most hazardous and difficult employment, and so referred the commissioners to make all their overtures and propositions to him; who knew well enough, what they would not do if they could, and what they could not do if they had a mind to it; and how devoted soever he was to the king's service, nothing proposed or undertaken by them, could have been the least inducement to him to engage himself, and to depend upon their fidelity. But there were three things, which with the great and entire zeal for the king's service, to which he had dedicated himself, made him believe that he might with some success appear again in that kingdom, in this conjuncture; and that his so doing might have a good effect upon the temper of England, and towards the mending his majesty's condition there.

First, the cardinal Mazarine (who then absolutely governed France) seemed very earnestly to advise it, and promised to supply him with a good sum of money, and store of arms and ammunition to carry with him; which he knew very well how to dispose of there. Secondly, he was privy to the Scottish engagement, and to a resolution of many persons of great honour in England, to appear in arms at the same time; which was designed for the summer following; whereby the parliament, and army, which were like to have new divisions amongst themselves, would not be able to send any

considerable supplies into Ireland; without which, their power there was not like to be formidable. Thirdly, which was a greater encouragement than the other two, he had, during his abode in England, held a close correspondence with the lord Inchiquin, president of the province of Munster in Ireland, who had the full power and command of all the English army there; which was a better body of men than the parliament had in any other part of that kingdom. That lord was weary of his masters, and did not think the service he had done the parliament (which indeed had been very great, and without which it is very probable that whole kingdom had been united to his majesty's service) well requited; and did really and heartily abhor the proceedings of the parliament, and army, towards the king; and did therefore resolve to redeem what he had formerly done amiss, with exposing all he had for his majesty's restoration; and had frankly promised the marquis to receive him into Munster, as the king's lieutenant of that kingdom; and that that whole province, and army, should pay him all obedience; and that against the time he should be sure of his presence, he would make a cessation with the Irish in order to a firm conjunction of that whole kingdom for the king. And after the marquis came into France, he received still letters from that lord to hasten his journey thither.

These were the motives which disposed the marquis to comply with the queen's and the prince's command to prepare himself for that expedition; and so he concerted all things with the Irish commissioners; who returned into their country, with

promises to dispose their general assembly to consent to those conditions as might not bring a greater prejudice to the king, than any conjunction with them could be of advantage.

The parliament had too many spies and agents at Paris, not to be informed of whatsoever was whispered there; but whether they undervalued any conjunction with the Irish, (for of the lord Inchiquin they had no suspicion,) or whether they were confident of the cardinal's kindness, that he would not advance any design against them, they were not so apprehensive of trouble from Ireland as they were of their brethren from Scotland; where they heard of great preparations, and of a purpose to call a parliament, and to raise an army; which, they believed, would find too many friends in England, the presbyterian party holding up their heads again, both in the parliament and the city. Besides, they knew that some persons of quality and interest, who had served the king in good command in the late war, were gone into Scotland, and well received there; which, they thought, would draw the king's party together upon the first appearance.

After the king had been so infamously delivered up to the parliament by the Scots at Newcastle, and as soon as the army had possessed themselves of him, that nation was in terrible apprehension that the officers of the army would have made their peace, and established their own greatness by restoring the king to his just rights, of which they had so foully deprived him; and then the conscience of their guilt made them presume, what their lot must be; and therefore, the same com-

missioners who had been joined with the committee of parliament in all the transactions, made haste to Westminster again to their old seats, to keep their interest; which was great in all the presbyterian party, both of parliament and city; for there remained still the same profession of maintaining the strict union between the two kingdoms, and that all transactions should be by joint counsels. And as soon as the king appeared with some show of liberty, and his own servants had leave to attend him, no men appeared with more confidence than the Scottish commissioners; the earl of Lowden, the earl of Lautherdale, and the rest; as if they had been the men who had contrived his restoration: no men in so frequent whispers with the king; and they found some way to get themselves so much believed by the queen, with whom they held a diligent correspondence, that her majesty very earnestly persuaded the king "to trust them, "as the only persons who had power and credit to "do him service, and to redeem him from the cap-"tivity he was in." Duke Hamilton, who had been sent prisoner by the king to the castle of Pendennis, and had been delivered from thence by the army, when that place was taken in the end of the war, had enjoyed his liberty and his pleasure at London, and in his own house at Chelsea, as long as he thought fit, that is, as long as the king was with the Scottish army and at Newcastle; and when he was delivered up to the parliament commissioners, he went into Scotland, [without seeing the king,] to his own house at Hamilton; looked upon by that nation as one who had unjustly suffered under the king's jealousy and displeasure,

and who remained still very faithful to him; and during the time that he remained in and about London, he found means to converse with many of the king's party, and made great professions that he would do the king a very signal service, which he desired them to assure his majesty of; and seemed exceedingly troubled and ashamed at his countrymen's giving up the king. And his having no share in that infamy made him the more trusted in England, and to be received with the more respect in Scotland by all those who abhorred that transaction.

The commissioners who attended his majesty made great apologies for what had been done, imputing it wholly to the "malice and power of the marquis "of Argyle, and to his credit and authority in the "council and in the army; so that nothing could "be done which was desired by honest men; but "that now duke Hamilton was amongst them, who "they knew was most devoted to his majesty, they "should be able to overpower Argyle; and the "proceedings of the army and the parliament were "so foul, and so contrary to their public faith, "that they were confident that all Scotland would "rise as one man for his majesty's defence and "vindication; and they were well assured, there "would such a party in England of those who "were faithful to his majesty appear at the same "time, that there would be little question of being "able, between them, to be hard enough for that "part of the army that would oppose them;" which his majesty knew well was resolved by many persons of honour, who afterwards performed what they had promised.

When the commissioners had, by these insinuations, gained new credit with the king, and had undertaken, that their invading England with an army equal to the undertaking, should be the foundation upon which all other hopes were to depend, (for no attempt in England could be reasonable before such an invasion, which was likewise to be hastened, that it might be at the same time when the marquis of Ormond should appear in Ireland,) they begun to propose to him many conditions, which would be necessary for his majesty to engage himself to perform towards that nation; without which it would not be easy to engage it in so unanimous a consent and engagement, as was necessary for such an enterprise. They required, as a thing without which nothing was to be undertaken, "that the prince of Wales should be present with "them, and march in the head of their army; and "desired that advertisement, and order, might be "sent to that purpose to the queen and the prince "at Paris; that so his highness might be ready "for the voyage, as soon as they should be pre-"pared to receive him." The king would by no means consent that the prince should go into Scotland, being too well acquainted with the manners and fidelity of that people; but he was contented, that when they should have entered England with their army, then the prince of Wales should put himself in the head of them. They demanded, "that such a number of Scotchmen should be al-"ways in the court, of the bedchamber, and all "other places about the persons of the king, and "prince, and duke of York: that Berwick and "Carlisle should be put into the hands of the

"Scots;" and some other concessions with reference to the northern counties; which trenched so far upon the honour and interest of the English, that his majesty utterly refused to consent to it; and so the agreement was not concluded when the king left Hampton Court. But, as soon as he was at the Isle of Wight, the Scottish commissioners repaired to him, at the same time with those who were sent to him from the parliament for his royal assent to those four bills spoken of before; then, in that season of despair, they prevailed with him to sign the propositions he had formerly refused; and, having great apprehension, from the jealousies they knew the army had of them, that they should be seized upon, and searched in their return to London, they made up their precious contract in lead; and buried it in a garden in the Isle of Wight; from whence they easily found means afterwards to receive it. So constant was this people to their principles, and so wary to be sure to be no losers by returning to their allegiance; to which neither conscience nor honour did invite or dispose them. So after a stay of some months at London to adjust all accounts, and receive the remainder of those monies they had so dearly earned, or so much of it as they had hope would be paid, they returned to Scotland, with the hatred and contempt of the army, and the parliament, that was then governed by it; but with the veneration of the presbyterian party, which still had faith in them, and exceedingly depended upon their future negociation; which was now incumbent upon them: and, in order thereunto, a fast intercourse and correspondence was settled, as well by constant letters, as by

frequent emissaries of their clergy, or other persons, whose devotion to their combination was unquestionable.

It can never be enough wondered at that the Scottish presbyterians, being a watchful and crafty people, the principal of whom were as unrestrained by conscience as any of the officers of the army were, and only intended their particular advantage and ambition, should yet hope to carry on their interest by such conditions and limitations, as all wise men saw must absolutely ruin and destroy it. They knew well enough the spirit of their own people, and that though it would be no hard matter to draw a numerous army enough together, yet that being together it would be able to do very little towards any vigorous attempt; and therefore their whole dependence was upon the assistance they should find ready to join with them in England. It is true, they did believe the body of the presbyterians in England to be much more considerable than in truth it was; yet they did, or might have known, that the most considerable persons who in the contest with the other faction were content to be thought presbyterians, were so only as they thought it might restore the king; which they more impatiently desired, than any alteration in the government of the church; and that they did heartily intend a conjunction with all the royal party, upon whose interest, conduct, and courage, they did more rely than upon the power of the Scots; who did publicly profess that all the king's friends should be most welcome, and received by them: nor did they trust any one presbyterian in England with the knowledge of the particulars

contained in the agreement with the king; but concealed it between the three persons who transacted it; and if it had been known, Cromwell might as easily have overrun their country before their army invaded England, as he did afterwards; nor would one Englishman have joined with them. Besides the infamous circumstances by which they extorted concessions from the king, which would have rendered any contract odious, (it being made in those four days, which were all that were assigned both to the English and Scottish commissioners, so that his majesty had not only no time to advise with others, but could not advise with himself upon so many monstrous particulars as were demanded of him by both kingdoms; which if he could have done, he would no more then have submitted to them, than he did afterwards upon longer deliberation, and when his life appeared to be in more manifest danger by his refusal,) the particulars themselves were the most scandalous, and derogatory to the honour and interest of the English nation; and would have been abominated, if known and understood, by all men, with all possible indignation.

After they had made his majesty give a good testimony of their league and covenant, in the preface of their agreement, and "that the intentions "of those who had entered into it were real for "the preservation of his majesty's person and "authority, according to their allegiance, and no "ways to diminish his just power and greatness," they obliged him "as soon as he could, with free-"dom, honour, and safety, be present in a free "parliament, to confirm the said league and cove-

" nant by act of parliament in both kingdoms, for " the security of all who had taken, or should take " it." It is true, they admitted a proviso, " that " none who was unwilling, should be constrained " to take it." They likewise obliged his majesty " to confirm by act of parliament in England, pres- " byterian government; the Directory for worship; " and the assembly of divines at Westminster, for " three years; so that his majesty, and his house- " hold, should not be hindered from using that " form of divine service he had formerly practised; " and that during those three years there should " be a consultation with the assembly of divines, " to which twenty of the king's nomination should " be added, and some from the church of Scotland; " and thereupon it should be determined by his " majesty, and the two houses of parliament, what " form of government should be established after " the expiration of those years, as should be most " agreeable to the word of God: that an effectual " course should be taken by act of parliament, and " all other ways needful or expedient, for the sup- " pressing the opinions and practices of Anti- " Trinitarians, Arians, Socinians, Anti-Scripturists, " Anabaptists, Antinomians, Arminians, Familists, " Brownists, Separatists, Independents, Libertines, " and Seekers, and, generally, for the suppressing " all blasphemy, heresy, schism, and all such scan- " dalous doctrines and practices as are contrary to " the light of nature, and to the known principles " of Christianity, whether concerning faith, wor- " ship, or conversation, or the power of godliness, " or which may be destructive to order and govern- " ment, or to the peace of the church or kingdom."

The king promised, " that in the next session of " parliament, after the kingdom of Scotland should " declare for his majesty, in pursuance of this " agreement, he should in person, or by commis- " sion, confirm the league and covenant in that " kingdom; and concerning all the acts passed in " the last parliament of that kingdom," his majesty declared, " that he should then likewise be content " to give assurance by act of parliament, that " neither he, nor his successors, should quarrel, " call in question, or command the contrary of any " of them, nor question any for giving obedience " to the same." Then they made a long recital of " the agreement the parliament of England had " made, when the Scots army returned to Scot- " land, that the army under Fairfax should be " disbanded; and of that army's not submitting " thereunto; of their taking the king from Holmby, " and keeping him prisoner till he fled from them " to the Isle of Wight; and since that time both " his majesty, and the commissioners for the king- " dom of Scotland, had very earnestly desired that " the king might come to London, in safety, honour, " and freedom, for a personal treaty with the two " houses and the commissioners of the parliament " of Scotland; which, they said, had been granted, " but that the army had, in violent manner, forced " away divers members of the parliament from the " discharge of their trust, and possessed themselves " of the city of London, and all the strengths " and garrisons of the kingdoms: and that by the " strength and influence of that army, and their " adherents, propositions and bills had been sent " to the king without the advice and consent of

" the kingdom of Scotland, contrary to the treaties " which are between the two kingdoms, and de- " structive to religion, his majesty's just rights, " the privileges of parliament, and liberty of the " subject; from which propositions and bills the " Scottish commissioners had dissented, and pro- " tested against, in the name of the kingdom of " Scotland."

After this preamble and recital, they said, " that " forasmuch as his majesty is willing to give satis- " faction concerning the settling religion, and other " matters in difference, as is expressed in this " agreement, the kingdom of Scotland doth oblige " and engage itself, first, in a peaceable way and " manner to endeavour that the king may come to " London in safety, honour, and freedom, for a " personal treaty with the houses of parliament " and the commissioners of Scotland, upon such " propositions as should be mutually agreed on " between the kingdoms, and such propositions as " his majesty should think fit to make; and for " this end all armies should be disbanded: and in " case that this should not be granted, that decla- " rations should be emitted by the kingdom of " Scotland in pursuance of this agreement, against " the unjust proceedings of the two houses of par- " liament towards his majesty and the kingdom of " Scotland; in which they would assert the right " that belonged to the crown, in the power of the " militia, the great seal, bestowing of honours and " offices of trust, choice of the privy counsellors, " and the right of the king's negative voice in " parliament: and that the queen's majesty, the " prince, and the rest of the royal issue, ought

" to remain where his majesty shall think fit in " either of his kingdoms, with safety, honour, and " freedom: that, upon the issuing out this decla- " ration, an army should be sent out of Scotland " into England, for the preservation and establish- " ment of religion; for defence of his majesty's " person and authority, and restoring him to his " government, to the just rights of the crown, and " his full revenues; for defence of the privileges " of parliament, and liberties of the subject; for " making a firm union between the kingdoms " under his majesty, and his posterity, and settling " a lasting peace." In pursuance whereof, the kingdom of Scotland was to endeavour " that there " might be a free and full parliament in England, " and that his majesty may be with them in ho- " nour, safety, and freedom; and that a speedy " period be set to the present parliament. And they " undertook, that the army which they would raise " should be upon its march, before the message " and declaration should be delivered to the " houses." It was farther agreed, " that all such " in the kingdoms of England and Ireland, as " would join with the kingdom of Scotland in " pursuance of this agreement, should be pro- " tected by his majesty in their persons and es- " tates; and that all his majesty's subjects in " England or Ireland who would join with him, in " pursuance of this agreement, might come to the " Scottish army, and join with them, or else put " themselves into other bodies in England or " Wales, for prosecution of the same ends, as the " king's majesty should judge most convenient, " and under such commanders, or generals of the

" English nation, as his majesty should think fit: " and that all such should be protected by the " kingdom of Scotland, and their army, in their " persons and estates; and where any injury or " wrong is done unto them, they would be careful " to see them fully repaired, as far as it should be " in their power to do; and likewise when any in- " jury or wrong is done to those who join with the " kingdom of Scotland, his majesty shall be careful " of their full reparation."

They obliged his majesty to promise " that nei- " ther himself, nor any by his authority or know- " ledge, should make or admit of any cessation, " pacification, or agreement whatsoever for peace, " nor of any treaty, propositions, bills, or any other " ways for that end, with the houses of parliament, " or any army or party in England, or Ireland, " without the advice and consent of the kingdom " of Scotland; and, reciprocally, that neither the " kingdom of Scotland, nor any having their au- " thority, should make or admit of any of these " any manner of way, with any whatsoever, with- " out his majesty's advice or consent: and that, " upon the settlement of a peace, there should be " an act of oblivion to be agreed on by his majesty, " and both his parliaments of both kingdoms; " that his majesty, the prince, or both, should " come into Scotland upon the invitation of that " kingdom, and their declaration, that they should " be in honour, freedom, and safety, when possibly " they could come with safety and convenience; " and that the king should contribute his utmost " endeavour, both at home and abroad, for assist- " ing the kingdom of Scotland for carrying on this

" war by sea and land, and for their supplies by " monies, arms, ammunition, and all other things " requisite, as also for guarding the coasts of Scot- " land with ships, and protecting all their mer- " chants in the free exercise of their trade and " commerce with other nations; and likewise that " his majesty was willing, and did authorize the " Scottish army to possess themselves of Berwick, " Carlisle, Newcastle upon Tyne, with the castle of " Tinmouth, and the town of Hartlepool: those " places to be for retreat, and magazines; and that, " when the peace of the kingdom should be settled, " the kingdom of Scotland should remove their " forces, and deliver back again those towns and " castles."

And as if all this had not been recompense enough for the wonderful service they were like to perform, they obliged the king to promise, and undertake to pay, the remainder of that brotherly assistance which was yet unpaid upon the large treaty after their first invasion of England, and likewise two hundred thousand pounds, which remained still due upon the last treaty made with the houses of parliament for return of the Scottish army, when they had delivered up the king; and also, " that payment should be made to the king- " dom of Scotland, for the charge and expense of " their army in this future war, with due recom- " pense for the losses which they should sustain " therein; and that due satisfaction, according to " the treaty on that behalf betwixt the two king- " doms, should be made to the Scottish army in " Ireland, out of the lands of the kingdom, or " otherwise: and that the king, according to the

" intention of his father, should endeavour a com-
" plete union of the two kingdoms, so as they may
" be one under his majesty, and his posterity; or if
" that cannot speedily be effected, that all liberties
" and privileges, concerning commerce, traffic,
" manufactures, peculiar to the subjects of either
" nation, shall be common to the subjects of both
" kingdoms without distinction; and that there be
" a communication, and mutual capacity, of all
" other privileges of the subjects in the two king-
" doms: that a competent number of ships should
" be yearly assigned, and appointed out of his ma-
" jesty's navy, which should attend the coasts of
" Scotland, for a guard, and freedom of trade of
" that nation; and that his majesty should declare
" that his successors, as well as himself, are obliged
" to the performance of the articles and conditions
" of this agreement; but that his majesty shall not
" be obliged to the performance of the aforesaid
" articles, until the kingdom of Scotland shall
" declare for him in pursuance of this agreement;
" and that the whole articles and conditions afore-
" said shall be finished, perfected, and performed,
" before the return of the Scottish army; and that
" when they return into Scotland, at the same time,
" *simul et semel*, all armies should be disbanded in
" England." And for a compliment, and to give a relish to all the rest, the king engaged himself " to
" employ those of the Scottish nation equally with
" the English in all foreign employments, and ne-
" gociations; and that a third part of all the offices
" and places about the king, queen, and prince,
" should be conferred upon some persons of that
" nation; and that the king and prince, or one of

" them, will frequently reside in Scotland, that the " subjects of that kingdom may be known to " them." This treaty and agreement being thus presented to the king by the Scottish commissioners in the castle of Carisbrook, his majesty was prevailed with to sign the same the 26th day of December, 1647; and to oblige himself, " in " the word of a king, to perform his part of the " said articles;" and the earl of Lowden, chancellor of Scotland, and the earl of Lautherdale, and the earl of Lanrick, being intrusted as commissioners from that kingdom, signed it likewise at the same time; and engaged themselves " upon their honour, " faith, and conscience, and all that is dear to honest " men, to endeavour to the utmost of their power, " that the kingdom of Scotland should engage to " perform what was on its part to be performed; " which they were confident the kingdom of " Scotland would do, and they themselves would " hazard their lives and fortunes in pursuance " thereof."

No man who reads this treaty (which very few men have ever done) can wonder that such an engagement met with the fate that attended it; which contained so many monstrous concessions, that, except the whole kingdom of England had been likewise imprisoned in Carisbrook castle with the king, it could not be imagined that it was possible to be performed; and the three persons who were parties to it were too wise to believe that it could be punctually observed; which they used as the best argument, and which only prevailed with the king, " that the treaty was only made to enable " them to engage the kingdom of Scotland to

" raise an army, and to unite it in his majesty's " service; which less than those concessions would " never induce them to do; but when that army " should be entered into England, and so many " other armies should be on foot of his English " subjects for the vindication of his interest, there " would be nobody to exact all those particulars; " but every body would submit to what his ma- " jesty should think fit to be done;" which, though it had been urged more than once before to induce the king to consent to other inconveniences, which they would never after release to him, did prevail with him at this time. And, to confirm him in the belief of it, they were contented that it should be inserted under the same treaty, as it was, " that his majesty did declare, that by the clause " of confirming presbyterian government by act of " parliament, he is neither obliged to desire the " settling presbyterian government, nor to present " any bills to that effect; and that he likewise un- " derstands that no person whatsoever shall suffer " in his estate, nor undergo any corporal punish- " ment, for not submitting to presbyterian govern- " ment; his majesty understanding that this [in- " demnity] should not extend to those who are " mentioned [in the article] against toleration:" and to this the three earls likewise subscribed their hands, " as witnesses only, as they said, that his " majesty had made that declaration in their pre- " sence, not as assenters;" so wary they were of administering jealousy to their masters, or of being thought to be less rigid in so fundamental a point, as they knew that would be thought to be.

It was a wonderful difference, throughout their whole proceedings, between the heads of those who were thought to sway the presbyterian counsels, and those who governed the independents, though they were equally masters of dissimulation, and had equally malice and wickedness in their intentions, though not of the same kind, and were equally unrestrained by any scruples or motions of conscience, the independents always doing that, which, how ill and unjustifiable soever, contributed still to the end they aimed at, and to the conclusion they meant to bring to pass; whereas the presbyterians, for the most part, did always somewhat that reasonably must destroy their own end, and cross that which they first and principally designed; and there were two reasons that might naturally produce this ill success to the latter, at least hindered the even progress and current which favoured the other. First, their councils were most distracted and divided, being made up of many men, whose humours and natures must be observed, and complied with, and whose concurrence was necessary to the carrying on the same designs, though their inclinations did not concur in them; whereas the other party was entirely led and governed by two or three, to whom they resigned, implicitly, the conduct of their interest; who advanced, when they saw it seasonable, and stood still, or retired, or even declined the way they best liked, when they saw any inconvenient jealousy awakened by the progress they had made.

In the second place, the presbyterians, by whom I mean the Scots, formed all their counsels by the inclinations and affections of the people; and first

considered how they might corrupt and seduce, and dispose them to second their purposes; and how far they might depend upon their concurrence and assistance, before they resolved to make any attempt; and this made them in such a degree submit to their senseless and wretched clergy; whose infectious breath corrupted and governed the people, and whose authority was prevalent upon their own wives, and in their domestic affairs; and yet they never communicated to them more than the outside of their designs: whereas, on the other side, Cromwell, and the few others with whom he consulted, first considered what was absolutely necessary to their main and determined end; and then, whether it were right or wrong, to make all other means subservient to it; to cozen and deceive men, as long as they could induce them to contribute to what they desired, upon motives how foreign soever; and when they would keep company with them no longer, or farther serve their purposes, to compel them by force to submit to what they should not be able to oppose; and so the one resolved, only to do what they believed the people would like and approve; and the other, that the people should like and approve what they had resolved. And this difference in the measures they took, was the true cause of so different success in all they undertook. Machiavel, in this, was in the right, though he got an ill name by it with those who take what he says from the report of other men, or do not enough consider themselves what he says, and his method in speaking: (he was as great an enemy to tyranny and injustice in any government, as any

man then was, or now is; and says,) " that a " man were better be a dog than be subject to " those passions and appetites, which possess all " unjust, and ambitious, and tyrannical persons;" but he confesses, " that they who are so transported, " and have entertained such wicked designs as are " void of all conscience, must not think to prose- " cute them by the rules of conscience, which was " laid aside, or subdued, before they entered upon " them; they must make no scruple of doing all " those impious things which are necessary to " compass and support the impiety to which they " have devoted themselves;" and therefore he commends Cæsar Borgia for " not being startled " with breach of faith, perjuries, and murders, for " the removal of those men who he was sure would " cross and enervate the whole enterprise he had " resolved, and addicted himself to; and blames " those usurpers, who had made themselves tyrants, " for hoping to support a government by justice, " which they had assumed unjustly, and which " having wickedly attempted, they manifestly lost " by not being wicked enough." The common old adage, " that he who hath drawn his sword " against his prince, ought to throw away the " scabbard, never to think of sheathing it again," hath never been received in a neighbour climate; but hath been looked upon in the frolic humour of that nation, as a gaiety that manifests a noble spirit, and may conduce to many advantages, and hath been controlled by some wonderful successes in this age, in those parts, which used not to be so favourable to such attempts: yet without doubt the rule will still hold good; and they who enter upon

unwarrantable enterprises, must pursue many unwarrantable ways to preserve themselves from the penalty of the first guilt.

Cromwell, though the greatest dissembler living, always made his hypocrisy of singular use and benefit to him; and never did any thing, how ungracious or imprudent soever it seemed to be, but what was necessary to the design; even his roughness and unpolishedness, which, in the beginning of the parliament, he affected contrary to the smoothness and complacency, which his cousin, and bosom friend, Mr. Hambden, practised towards all men, was necessary; and his first public declaration, in the beginning of the war, to his troop when it was first mustered, "that he would not deceive or "cozen them by the perplexed and involved ex-"pressions in his commission, to fight for king "and parliament;" and therefore told them, "that "if the king chanced to be in the body of the "enemy that he was to charge, he would as soon "discharge his pistol upon him, as any other "private person; and if their conscience would "not permit them to do the like, he advised them "not to list themselves in his troop, or under his "command;" which was generally looked upon as imprudent and malicious, and might, by the professions the parliament then made, have proved dangerous to him; yet served his turn, and severed from others, and united among themselves, all the furious and incensed men against the government, whether ecclesiastical or civil, to look upon him as a man for their turn, upon whom they might depend, as one who would go through his work that he undertook. And his strict and unsociable humour in

not keeping company with the other officers of the army in their jollities and excesses, to which most of the superior officers under the earl of Essex were inclined, and by which he often made himself ridiculous or contemptible, drew all those of the like sour or reserved natures to his society and conversation, and gave him opportunity to form their understandings, inclinations, and resolutions, to his own model. By this he grew to have a wonderful interest in the common soldiers, out of which, as his authority increased, he made all his officers, well instructed how to live in the same manner with their soldiers, that they might be able to apply them to their own purposes: whilst he looked upon the presbyterian humour as the best incentive to rebellion, no man more a presbyterian; he sung all psalms with them to their tunes, and loved the longest sermons as much as they; but when he discovered that they would prescribe some limits and bounds to their rebellion, that it was not well breathed, and would expire as soon as some few particulars were granted to them in religion, which he cared not for; and then that the government must run still in the same channel; it concerned him to make it believed "that the "state had been more delinquent than the church, "and that the people suffered more by the civil "than by the ecclesiastical power; and therefore "that the change of one would give them little "ease, if there were not as great an alteration in "the other, and if the whole government in both "were not reformed and altered;" which though it made him generally odious [at first], and irreconciled many of his old friends to him; yet it

made those who remained more cordial and firm: he could better compute his own strength, and upon whom he might depend. This discovery made him contrive the [new] model of the army; which was the most unpopular act, and disobliged all those who first contrived the rebellion, and who were the very soul of it; and yet, if he had not brought that to pass, and changed a general, who, though not very sharpsighted, would never be governed, nor applied to any thing he did not like, for another who had no eyes, and so would be willing to be led, all his designs must have come to nothing, and he remained a private colonel of horse, not considerable enough to be in any figure upon an advantageous composition.

After all the successes of his new model, he saw his army was balanced by that of the Scots, who took themselves to have equal merit with the other, and was thought to have contributed no less towards the suppression of the king, than that under Fairfax had done; and after all the victories, and reduction of the king to that lowness, desired still a composition, and to submit again to the subjection of the king: nor was it yet time for him to own or communicate his resolution to the contrary, lest even many of those who wished the extirpation of monarchy, might be startled at the difficulty of the enterprise, and with the power that was like to oppose them. He was therefore first to incense the people against the Scottish nation, "as being a "mercenary aid, entertained at a vast charge to "the kingdom, that was only to be paid their "wages, and to be dismissed, without having the "honour to judge with them upon what conditions

" the king should be received, and restored; the " accomplishing whereof ought to be the peculiar " glory of the parliament without a rival, and that " the king might owe the benefit wholly to them." And this was as popular an argument as he could embark himself in, the whole kingdom in general having a great detestation of the Scots; and they who most desired the king's restoration wished that he might have as little obligation to them as was possible, and that they might have as little credit afterwards with him. With this universal applause, he compelled the Scottish army to depart the kingdom, with that circumstance as must ever after render them odious and infamous. There now seemed nothing more dangerous and destructive to the power and interest of the English army, in so general a discontent throughout the kingdom, than a division, and mutiny within itself; that the common soldiers should erect an authority distinct from their officers, by which they would choose to govern against their superior commanders, at least without them, and to fancy that they had an interest of their own severed from theirs, for the preservation whereof they were to trust none but themselves; which had never been heard of before in any army, and was looked upon as a presage of the ruin of the whole, and of those who had adhered to them; and yet, if he had not raised this seditious spirit in the army, he could not have prevented the disbanding some part of it, and sending another part of it into Ireland, before the Scots left Newcastle; nor have been able to have taken the king from Holmby into the hands of the army, after the Scots were gone. And after all his hypocrisy towards

the king and his party, by which he prevented many inconveniences which might have befallen him, he could never have been rid of him again so unreproachfully, as by his changing his own countenance, and giving other cause to the king to suspect the safety of his person, and thereupon to make his escape from the army; by which his majesty quickly became a prisoner, and so was deprived of any resort, from whence many mischiefs might have proceeded to have disturbed his counsels. How constantly he pursued this method in his subsequent actions, will be observed in its place.

Contrary to this the presbyterian Scots proceeded, in all their actions after their first invasion in the year 1640, and always interwove some conditions in their counsels and transactions, which did not only prove, but, in the instant, might have been discerned to be, diametrically opposite to their public interest, and to their particular designs. It is very true, that their first invasion, saving their breach of allegiance, might have some excuse from their interest. They were a poor people, and though many particular men of that nation had received great bounties, and were exceedingly enriched in the court of England by king James and the present king, yet those particular men, who had been and then were in the court, were, for the most part, persons of no interest in Scotland; nor was that kingdom at all enriched by the conjunction with this; and they found themselves exposed to some late pressures, which were new to them, and which their preachers told them "were against "conscience, and an invasion of their religion;" from which they had vindicated themselves so

rudely and unwarrantably, that they might well expect to be called to an account hereafter, if those persons, whom they had most provoked, retained their interest still with the king, and in his councils; from whom they were promised to be secured, and to be well paid for their pains, if they would, by marching into England with an army, give their friends their countenance to own their own grievances, and so to procure relief and security for both kingdoms. In this enterprise, the success crowned their work; they were thought a wise and a resolute nation; and after an unbloody war of above a year, they returned into their country laden with spoils and great riches; and were liberally rewarded, as well for going out, as for coming into England. But from their return from this expedition, their whole true interest consisted in, and depended upon, an entire adhering to the king, and vindicating his honour and interest from all assaults; and their being suborned afterwards (when the king was in a hopeful way to have reduced his [English] rebels to their obedience, by the strength and power of his arms) to make a second invasion of the kingdom, was a weak and childish engagement, directly opposite to their interest, except they had at the same time a resolution to have changed their own government, and for ever to have renounced subjection to monarchy, (which was never in their purpose to do,) or to withdraw it from the present king. When his majesty had trusted them so far (which they had never reason to expect) as to put his royal person into their hands, and thereby given them an opportunity to redeem themselves in the eyes of the world, and to undo some part of the

mischief they had done, it was their interest to have joined cordially with him, and firmly to have united themselves to his party in vindication of the law, and the government established; and if they had not had the courage at that time to have looked the English army in the face, as apparently they had not, it had been their interest to have retired with the king in the head of their army into Scotland; and, leaving good garrisons in Newcastle, Berwick, and Carlisle, all which were in their possession, to have expected a revolution in England from the divisions amongst themselves, and from come conjunction with a strong body of the king's English party, which would quickly have found themselves together; and the delivery of the king up, besides the infamy of it, was, in view, destructive to all that could be thought their interest.

After all this, when they found themselves cozened and deceived in all the measures they had taken, and laughed at and despised by those who had deceived them, to have a new opportunity to serve the king, and then to insist upon such conditions as must make it impossible for them to serve him effectually, was such a degree of sottishness, and a depraved understanding, that they can never be looked upon as men who knew what their interest was, or what was necessary to advance their own designs. And yet we shall be obliged to observe how incorrigibly they adhered to this obstinate and froward method, in all the transactions they afterwards had with the king; all which turned, as it could not but do, to their own ruin, and the destruction of that idol they adored, and paid their devotion to. But it is time to return to our

discourse, from whence this tedious digression hath misled us.

All designs and negociations, abroad and at home, being in this state and condition, the king remained under a strict and disconsolate imprisonment, no man being suffered to speak with him, and all diligence used to intercept all letters which might pass to or from him; yet he found means sometimes, by the affection and fidelity of some inhabitants of the island, to receive important advertisements from his friends; and to write to and receive letters from the queen; and so he informed her of the Scottish transaction, and of all the other hopes he had; and seemed to take much pleasure; and looked upon it as a good omen, that in that desperate lowness of his fortune, and notwithstanding all the care that was taken that none should be about him but men of most barbarous and inhuman tempers and natures, void of all reverence towards God and man, his majesty's gracious disposition and generous affability still wrought upon some soldier, or other person placed about him, to undertake and perform some offices of trust, in conveying papers to and from him. So great a force and influence had natural duty; or some desperate men had so much craft, and forecast, to lay out a little application that might bring advantage to them in such a change as they neither looked for, nor desired. For many, who did undertake to perform those offices, did not make good all they promised; which made it plain, they were permitted to get credit, that they might the more usefully betray.

In the parliament, there was no opposition or contradiction in any thing relating to the public;

but in all those transactions which concerned particular persons, with reference to rewards, preferments, or matter of profit, men were considered according to the party they were of; every day those received benefit who had appeared most to adhere to the army; the notorious presbyterians were removed from all places of profit and authority, which vexed them, and well prepared and disposed them to be ready for revenge. But the pulpit-skirmishes were higher than ever; the presbyterians, in those fields, losing nothing of their courage, having a notorious power in the city, notwithstanding the emulation of the independents, who were more learned and rational: who, though they had not so great congregations of the common people, yet infected, and were followed by, the most substantial and wealthy citizens, and by others of better condition. To these men Cromwell and most of the officers of the army adhered, with bitterness against the other. But the divinity of the time was not to be judged by the preaching, and congregations in churches, which were now thought not to be the fit and proper places for devotion and religious assemblies, where the bishops had exercised such illimited tyranny, and which had been polluted by their original consecrations. Liberty of conscience was now become the great charter; and men who were *inspired*, preached and prayed when and where they would. Cromwell himself was the greatest preacher; and most of the officers of the army, and many common soldiers, shewed their *gifts* that way. Anabaptists and quakers grew very numerous, with whom the independents concurred so far as to join with them

for the utter abolishing of tithes, as of Judaical institution; which was now the patrimony of the presbyterians, and therefore prosecuted by one party, and defended by the other, with equal passion and animosity. If any man could have been at so much ease as to have beheld the prospect with delight, never was such a scene of confusion, as at this time had spread itself over the face of the whole kingdom.

During all this time, the prince remained at Paris under the government of his mother, exercised with that strictness, that though his highness was above the age of seventeen years, he never put his hat on before the queen, nor was it desired that he should meddle in any business, or be sensible of the unhappy condition the royal family was in. The assignation which was made by the court of France for the better support of the prince, was annexed to the monthly allowance given to the queen, and received by her, and distributed as she thought fit; such clothes and other necessaries provided for his highness as were thought necessary; her majesty desiring to have it thought that the prince lived entirely upon her, and that it would not consist with the dignity of the prince of Wales to be a pensioner to the king of France. Hereby none of his highness's servants had any pretence to ask money, but they were to be contented with what should be allowed to them; which was dispensed with a very sparing hand; nor was the prince himself ever master of ten pistoles to dispose as he desired. The lord Jermyn was the queen's chief officer, and governed all her receipts, and he loved plenty so well, that

he would not be without it, whatever others suffered who had been more acquainted with it. All who had any relation to the prince, were to implore his aid; and the prince himself could obtain nothing but by him; which made most persons of honour of the English nation who were driven into banishment, as many of the nobility and chief gentry of the kingdom then were, choose to make their residence in any other place, as Caen, Rouen, and the like, than in Paris, where the prince was, and could do so little: nor was this economy well liked even in France, nor the prince himself so much respected as he would have been if he had lived more like himself, and appeared more concerned in his own business.

When the marquis of Ormond came thither, he was received very graciously by the queen, and consulted with in all things, being the person most depended upon to begin to give a turn to their fortune, recommended to them by the king, and of the most universal reputation of any subject the king had. He pressed a speedy despatch, that he might pursue his designs in Ireland; where he longed to be, whilst the affairs of that kingdom were no more taken to heart by the parliament, who had yet sent no supplies thither. He informed the queen, and the lord Jermyn, of the necessity of hastening that work, which they understood well enough by the Irish commissioners; who had been there, and had been sent back with a million of promises, a coin that court always abounded with, and made most of its payments in.

When the queen, who was as zealous for the despatch as was possible, pressed the queen regent,

and the cardinal, upon it, she received [in words] all the satisfaction imaginable, and assurance that all things should be speedily provided; and when the marquis spoke first with the cardinal upon the subject, he found him well disposed; making such ample promises for a very good sum of money, and such a proportion of arms and ammunition, as could be wished. So that he thought he had no more to do, but to appoint the place for his embarkation, that those provisions might be sent thither to meet him; and that he should be ready to transport himself within a very short time; of which he gave notice to those who expected him in Ireland, and prepared all his own accommodations accordingly. But he was very much disappointed in his expectation; the cardinal was not so confident of the recovery of the king's affairs as to disoblige the parliament by contributing towards it: so that affair advanced very slowly.

Having now, contrary to the order formerly observed by me, crowded in all the particular passages and important transactions of two whole years into this book, that I might not interrupt or discontinue the relation of the mysterious proceedings of the army, their great hypocrisy, and dissimulation, practised towards the king and his party, and then their pulling off their mask, and appearing in their natural dress of inhumanity and savageness, with the vile artifices of the Scottish commissioners to draw the king into their hands, and then their low and base compliance, and gross folly, in delivering him up, and lastly their absurd and merchandly trafficking with him for the price of returning to their allegiance, when there was

no other way of preserving themselves, and their nation from being destroyed, the many woful tragedies of the next year, which filled the world with amazement and horror, must be the subject of the discourse in the next book.

**THE END OF THE TENTH BOOK.**

**END OF VOL. V.**

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